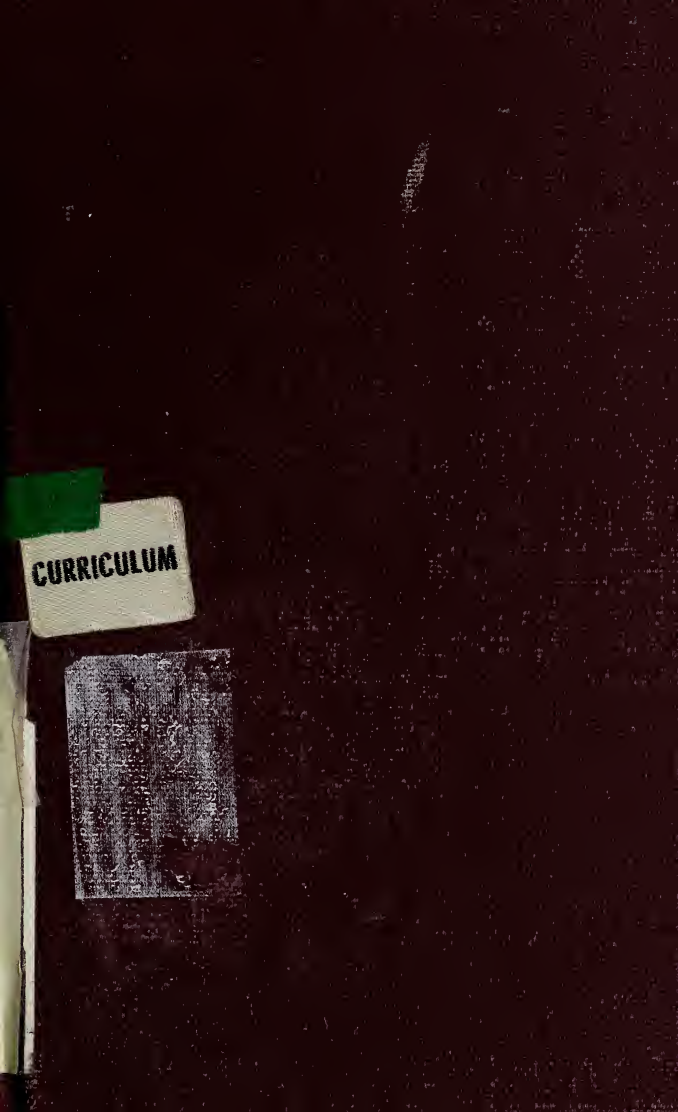
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irty-two volumes

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THE GREAT INTENDANT

BY THOMAS CHAPAIS

II

Rise of New France

LOUIS XIV

From a painting in the Versailles Gallery

THE
EAT INTENDANT

hronicle of Jean Talon in Canada
1665-1672

BY

THOMAS CHAPAIS

TORONTO
GLASGOW, BROOK & COMPANY
1920

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From a painting in the Versailles Gallery.

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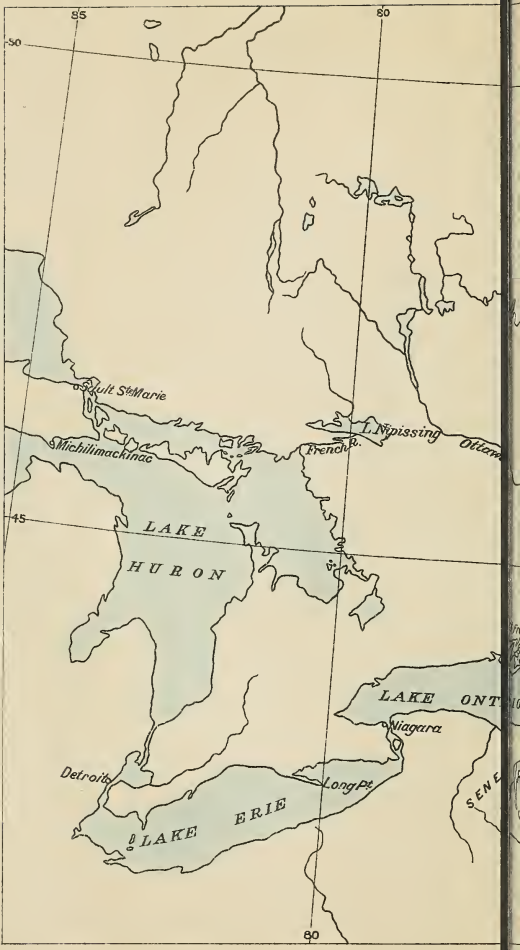
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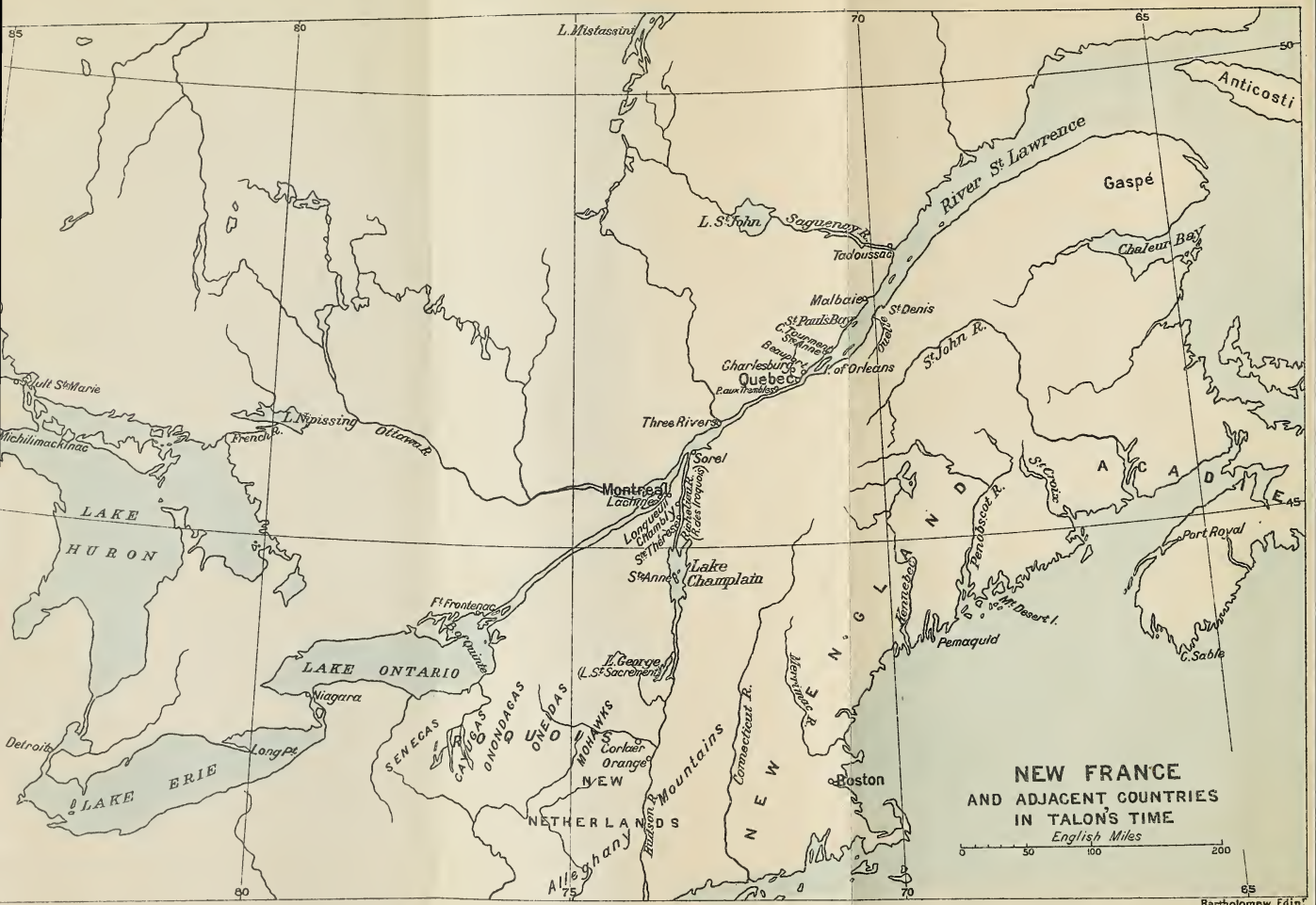
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CHAPTER I

TO THE RESCUE OF NEW FRANCE

When the year 1665 began, the French colony on the shores of the St Lawrence, founded by the valour and devotion of Champlain, had been in existence for more than half a century. Yet it was still in a pitiable state of weakness and destitution. The care and maintenance of the settlement had devolved upon trading companies, and their narrow-minded mercantile selfishness had stifled its progress. From other causes, also, there had been but little growth. Cardinal Richelieu, the great French minister, had tried at one time to infuse new life into the colony[1]; but his first attempts had been unlucky, and later on his powerful mind was diverted to other plans and achievements and he became absorbed in the wider field of European politics. To the shackles of

[1] For the earlier history of New France, the reader is referred to three other volumes in this Series—*The Founder of New France*, *The Seigneurs of Old Canada*, and *The Jesuit Missions*.

commercial greed, to forgetfulness on the par
of the mother country, had been added th
curse of Indian wars. During twenty-fiv
years the daring and ferocious Iroquois ha
been the constant scourge of the handfu
of settlers, traders, and missionaries. Cham
plain's successors in the office of governor
Montmagny, Ailleboust, Lauzon, Argenson
Avaugour, had no military force adequat
to the task of meeting and crushing thes
formidable foes. Year after year the wretche
colony maintained its struggle for existenc
amidst deadly perils, receiving almost no hel
from France, and to all appearance doome
to destruction. To make things worse, in
ternal strife exercised its disintegrating in
fluence; there was contention among th
leaders in New France over the vexed questio
of the liquor traffic. In the face of so man
adverse circumstances—complete lack of means
cessation of immigration from the mothe
country, the perpetual menace of the blood
Iroquois incursions, a dying trade, and a still
born agriculture—how could the colony b
kept alive at all? Spiritual and civ
authorities, the governor and the bishop, th
Jesuits and the traders, all united in petitionin
for assistance. But the motherland was fa

away, and European wars and rivalries were engrossing all her attention.

Fortunately a change was at hand. The prolonged struggle of the Thirty Years' War and of the war against Spain had been ended by the treaty of Münster and Osnabrück in 1648 and by that of the Pyrenees in 1659. The civil dissensions of the Fronde were over, thanks to the skilful policy of Cardinal Mazarin, Richelieu's successor. After the death of Mazarin in 1661, Louis XIV had taken into his own hands the reins of administration. He was young, painstaking, and ambitious; and he wanted to be not only king but the real ruler of his kingdom. In Jean Baptiste Colbert, the man who had been Mazarin's right hand, he had the good fortune to find one of the best administrators in all French history. Colbert soon won the king's confidence. He was instrumental in detecting the maladministration of Fouquet as superintendent of Finance, and became a member of the council appointed to investigate and report on all financial questions. Of this body he was the leading spirit from the beginning. Although at first without the title of minister, he was promptly invested with a wide authority over the finances, trade, agriculture, industry, and

marine affairs. Within two years he had shown his worth and had justified the king's choice. Great and beneficial reforms had been accomplished in almost every branch of the administration. The exhausted treasury had been replenished, trade and industry were encouraged, agriculture was protected, and a navy created. Under a progressive government France seemed to awake to new life.

The hour was auspicious for the entreaties of New France. Petitions and statements were addressed to the king by Mgr de Laval, the head of ecclesiastical affairs in the colony, by the governor Avaugour, and by the Jesuit fathers; and Pierre Boucher, governor of the district of Three Rivers, was sent to France as a delegate to present them. Louis and his minister studied the conditions of the colony on the St Lawrence and decided in 1663 to give it a new constitution. The charter of the One Hundred Associates was cancelled and the old Council of Quebec—formed in 1647—was reorganized under the name of the Sovereign Council. This new governing body was to be composed of the governor, the bishop, the intendant, an attorney-general, a secretary, and five councillors. It was invested with a general jurisdiction for the administration of

justice in civil and criminal matters. It had also to deal with the questions of police, roads, finance, and trade.

To establish a new and improved system of administration was a good thing, but this alone would hardly avail if powerful help were not forthcoming to rescue New France from ruin, despondency, and actual extermination. The colony was dying for lack of soldiers, settlers, and labourers, as well as stores of food and munitions of war for defence and maintenance. Louis XIV made up his mind that help should be given. In 1664 three hundred labourers were conveyed to Quebec at the king's expense, and in the following year the colonists received the welcome information that the king was also about to send them a regiment of trained soldiers, a viceroy, a new governor, a new intendant, settlers and labourers, and all kinds of supplies. This royal pledge was adequately fulfilled. On June 19, 1665, the Marquis de Tracy, lieutenant-general of all the French dominions in America, arrived from the West Indies, where he had successfully discharged the first part of the mission entrusted to him by his royal master. With him came four companies of soldiers. During the whole summer ships were disembarking their

passengers and unloading their cargoes of ammunition and provisions at Quebec in quick succession. It is easy to imagine the rapture of the colonists at such a sight, and the enthusiastic shouts that welcomed the first detachment of the splendid regiment of Carignan-Salières. At length, on September 12, the cup of public joy was filled to overflowing by the arrival of the ship *Saint Sebastien* with two high officials on board, David de Remy, Sieur de Courcelle, the governor appointed to succeed the governor Mézy, who had died earlier in the year, and Jean Talon, the intendant of justice, police, and finance. The latter had been selected to replace the Sieur Robert, who had been made intendant in 1663, but, for some unknown reason, had never come to Canada to perform the duties of his office. The triumvirate on whom was imposed the noble task of saving and reviving New France was thus complete. The Marquis de Tracy was an able and clear-sighted commander, the Sieur de Courcelle a fearless, straightforward official. But the part of Jean Talon in the common task, though apparently less brilliant, was to be in many respects the most important, and his influence the most far-reaching in the destinies of the colony.

JEAN TALON

After a painting in the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec

Talon was born at Châlons-sur-Marne, in the province of Champagne, about the year 1625. His family were kinsfolk of the Parisian Talons, Omer and Denis, the celebrated jurists and lawyers, who held in succession the high office of attorney-general of France. Several of Jean Talon's brothers were serving in the administration or the army, and, after a course of study at the Jesuits' College of Clermont, Jean was employed under one of them in the commissariat. The young man's abilities soon became apparent and attracted Mazarin's attention. In 1654 he was appointed military commissary at Le Quesnoy in connection with the operations of the army commanded by the great Turenne. A year later, at the age of thirty, he was promoted to be intendant for the province of Hainault. For ten years he filled that office and won the reputation of an administrator of the first rank. Thus it came about that, when an intendant was needed to infuse new blood into the veins of the feeble colony on the St Lawrence, Colbert, always a good judge of men, thought immediately of Jean Talon and recommended to the king his appointment as intendant of New France. Talon's commission is dated March 23, 1665.

The minister drafted for the intendant's

guidance a long letter of instructions. It dealt with the mutual relations of Church and State, and set forth the Gallican principles of the day; it discussed the question of assistance to the recently created West India Company; the contemplated war against the Iroquois and how it might successfully be carried on; the Sovereign Council and the administration of justice; the settlement of the colony and the advisability of concentrating the population; the importance of fostering trade and industry; the question of tithes for the maintenance of the Church; the establishment of shipbuilding yards and the encouragement of agriculture. This document was signed by Louis XIV at Paris on March 27, 1665.

On receiving his commission and his instructions, Talon took leave of the king and the minister, and proceeded to make preparations for his arduous mission and for the long journey which it involved. By April 22 he was at La Rochelle, to arrange for the embarkation of settlers, working men, and supplies. He attended the review of the troops that were bound for New France, and reported to Colbert that the companies were at their full strength, well equipped and in the best of spirits. During this time he spared no pains to acquire

information about the new country where he was to work and live. Finally, by May 24, everything was in readiness, and he wrote to Colbert:

> Since apparently I shall not have the honour of writing you another letter from this place, for our ship awaits only a favourable wind to sail, allow me to assure you that I am leaving full of gratitude for all the kindness and favours bestowed on me by the king and yourself. Knowing that the best way to show my gratitude is to do good service to His Majesty, and that the best title to future benevolence lies in strenuous effort for the successful execution of his wishes, I shall do my utmost to attain that end in the charge I am going to fill. I pray for your protection and help, which will surely be needed, and if my endeavours should not be crowned with success, at least it will not be for want of zeal and fidelity.

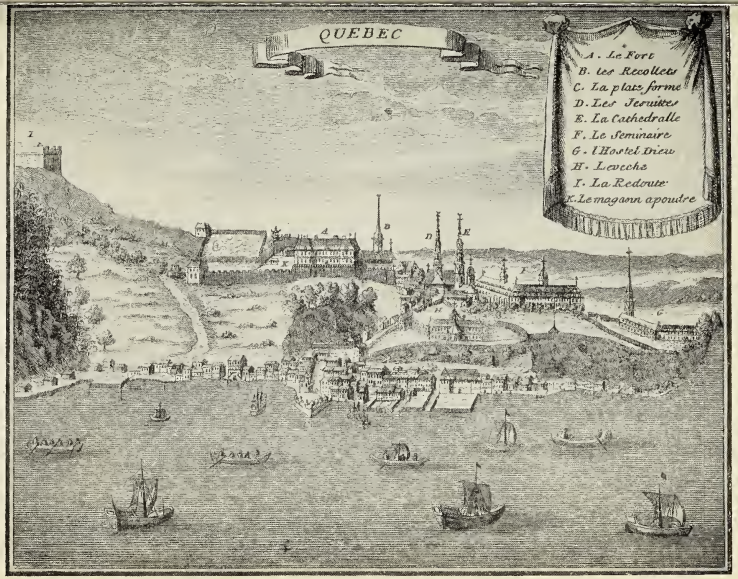
A few hours after having written these farewell lines, Talon, in company with M. de Courcelle, set sail on the *Saint Sebastien* for Canada, where he was to make for himself an imperishable name.

CHAPTER II

NEW FRANCE IN 1665

LET us take a glance over the colony at the time when Courcelle and Talon landed at Quebec after an ocean journey—there were no fast lines then—of one hundred and seventeen days.

In 1665 Canada had only three settled districts: Quebec, Three Rivers, and Ville-Marie or Montreal. Quebec, the chief town, bore the proud title of the capital of New France. Yet it contained barely seventy houses with about five hundred and fifty inhabitants. Then, as now, it consisted of a lower and an upper town. In the lower town were to be found the king's stores and the merchants' shops and residences. The public officials and the clergy and members of the religious orders lived in the upper town, where stood the principal buildings of the capital—the Château Saint-Louis, the Bishop's Palace, the Cathedral, the Jesuits' College and Chapel, and the



QUEBEC CITY IN TALON'S TIME

From an old print

onasteries of the Ursulines and of the Hôtel-ieu sisters.

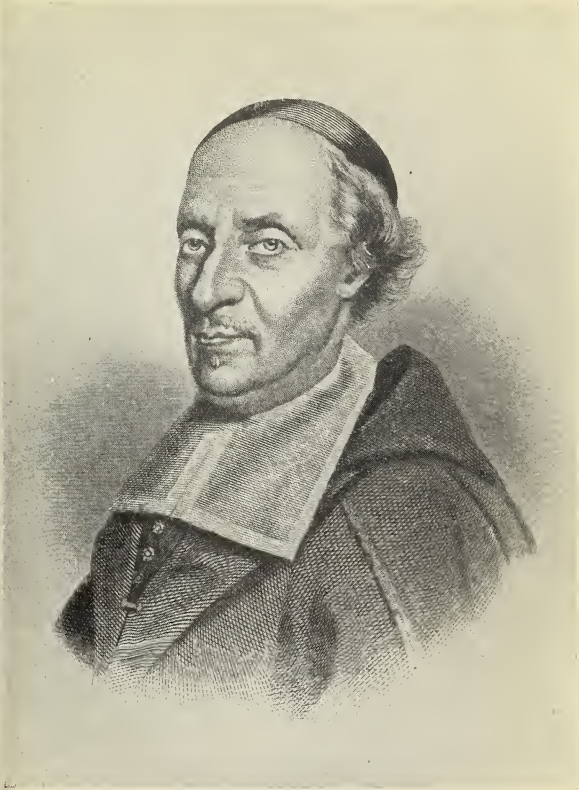
François de Laval de Montmorency, bishop Petræa and vicar apostolic for Canada, was e spiritual head of the colony. He had rived from France six years earlier, in 1659, id was destined to spend the remainder of his e, nearly half a century, in the service of the urch in Canada. Because of his noble aracter and many virtues, his strong in-llect, and his devotion to the public weal, will ever rank as one of the greatest figures Canadian history. His vicar-general was enri de Bernières, who was also parish priest Quebec and superior of the seminary unded by the bishop in 1663. The superior the Jesuits was Father Le Mercier. The intly Marie de l'Incarnation was mother perior of the Ursulines, and Mother Saint onaventure of the Hôtel-Dieu.

It may be interesting to recall the names of me of the notable citizens of Quebec at that me, other than the high officials. There were chel Filion and Pierre Duquet, notaries; an Madry, surgeon to the king's majesty; an Le Mire, the future *syndic des habitants*; adame d'Ailleboust, widow of a former overnor; Madame Couillard, widow of Guil-

laume Couillard and daughter of Louis Hébert the first tiller of the soil; Madame de Repentigny, widow of 'Admiral' de Repentigny, to use the grandiloquent expression of old chroniclers; Nicolas Marsollet, Louis Couillard de l'Espinay, Charles Roger de Colombiers François Bissot, Charles Amiot, Le Gardeur de Repentigny, Dupont de Neuville, Pierre Denis de la Ronde, all men of high standing. The chief merchants were Charles Basire, Jacques Loyer de Latour, Claude Charron, Jean Maheu Eustache Lambert, Bertrand Chesnay de L Garenne, Guillaume Feniou. Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, the stalwart Quebec trader of the day, was then in France.

In the neighbourhood of Quebec were a few settlements. According to the census of the following year there were 452 persons on the Island of Orleans, 533 at the Côte Beaupré, 18 at Beauport, 140 at Sillery, and 112 at Charlesbourg and Notre-Dame-des-Anges on the St Charles river.

Three Rivers was a small port with a population of 455, including that of the adjoining settlements. The governor in charge of the local administration was Pierre Boucher already mentioned as a delegate to France in 1661. The Jesuits had a residence there



BISHOP LAVAL

From a painting in Laval University, Quebec

nd a chapel which was the only place f public worship, for the colonists had not s yet the means to erect a parish church. n the vicinity there were the beginnings of ettlement at Cap-de-la-Magdeleine, Batiscan, nd Champlain. Among the important fami- es of Three Rivers were those of Godefroy, ertel, Le Neuf, Crevier, Boucher, Poulin, olant, Lemaitre, Rivard, and Ameau. Michel e Neuf du Hérisson was *juge royal*, and évérin Ameau was notary and registrar of the ourt.

Montreal or Ville-Marie was scarcely more nportant than Three Rivers. The popula- on of the whole district numbered only 25. A fort built by Maisonneuve and illeboust at Pointe-à-Callières; the house f the Sulpicians at the foot of the present aint-Sulpice Street; the Hôtel-Dieu on the ther side of that street; the convent of the ongregation sisters facing the Hôtel-Dieu; few houses scattered along the road called de la Commune,' now Saint-Paul Street; nd on the rising ground towards the Place 'Armes of later years a few more dwellings— nese constituted the Montreal of primitive ays. On the top of the hill called 'Côteau aint-Louis' was erected an intrenched mill—

'Moulin du Côteau'—which could be used a
a redoubt to protect the inhabitants. Th
Sulpicians' house, the Hôtel-Dieu, the conver
of the Congregation, and the houses of th
Place d'Armes and of 'la Commune' wer
connected with the fort by footpaths. Befor
1672 there were no streets laid out. The onl
place of public worship was the Hôtel-Die
chapel, fifty feet in length by thirty in widt
The superior of the Sulpicians was Abb
Souart. Mother Macé was superioress of th
Hôtel-Dieu, but the mainstay of the institutio
was the well-known Mademoiselle Mance, wh
by the aid of Madame de Bullion's benefaction
had founded it in 1643. The illustrious Siste
Marguerite Bourgeoys was at the head of th
Congregation, which owed its existence to h
pious zeal and devotion to the education of th
young. Among the 'Montréalistes' of no
the following should be specially mentioned
Zacharie Dupuy, major of the island; Charl
d'Ailleboust, seigneurial judge; J. B. Migeo
de Bransac, fiscal attorney; Louis Artu
Sailly, who had been for some time *ju*
royal; Bénigne Basset, at once registrar
the seigneurial court, notary, and surveyo
Charles Le Moyne, king's treasurer, inte
preter, soldier, settler, who was later to

ennobled and receive the title of Baron de Longueuil; Étienne Bouchard, surgeon; Pierre Picoté de Belestre, a valiant militia officer; Claude de Robutel, Sieur de Saint-André; Jacques Leber, a merchant who controlled almost the whole trade of Ville-Marie.

Altogether the white population of Canada, including the settlers and labourers arriving during the summer of 1665, numbered only 3215. Yet the colony had been in existence for fifty-seven years! It was certainly time for a new effort on the part of the mother country to infuse life into her feeble offspring. This was a task calling for the earnest care and the most energetic activity of Tracy, Courcelle, and Talon.

One of the first matters to receive their attention was the reorganization of the Canadian administration. We have seen that in 1663 the Sovereign Council had been created, to consist of the high officials of the colony and five councillors. At this time, September 1665, the five councillors were Mathieu Damours, Le Gardeur de Tilly, and three others who had been irregularly appointed by Mézy, the preceding governor, to take the places of three councillors whom he had arbitrarily dismissed—Rouer de Villeray,

Juchereau de la Ferté, and Ruette d'Auteui
The same governor had also dismissed Jea
Bourdon, the attorney-general, and had re
placed him by Chartier de Lotbinière. Thes
summary dismissals and appointments ha
arisen out of a quarrel between the governo
and the bishop, in which the former appea
to have been influenced by petty motives. A
any rate Mézy had been recalled by the king
and Tracy, Courcelle, and Talon had bee
instructed to try him for improper condu
in office. But before their arrival at Quebe
Mézy had obeyed the summons of anothe
King than the king of France. He had bee
taken ill in the spring of the year and ha
died on May 6. Mézy being dead, it was wise
thought unnecessary to recall unhappy memo
ries of his errors and misdeeds. Sufficie
would be done if the grievances due to h
rashness were redressed. Accordingly th
dismissed officials were reinstated, and o
September 23, 1665, a solemn sitting of th
Sovereign Council was held, at which Trac
Courcelle, Laval, and Talon were presen
together with the Sieur Le Barroys, gener
agent of the West India Company, and th
Sieurs de Villeray, de la Ferté, d'Auteuil, d
Tilly, Damours—all the councillors in offic

efore Mézy's dismissals—Jean Bourdon, the torney-general, and J. B. Peuvret, secretary the council. The letters patent of Courcelle nd Talon as well as the commission and redentials of the Sieur Le Barroys were duly ad and registered; the letters patent of the arquis de Tracy had been registered pre-ously. With these formalities the new dministration of Canada was inaugurated.

The next proceeding of the rulers of New rance was to prepare for a decisive blow gainst the daring Iroquois. Tracy and the oldiers, as we have seen, had arrived in June nd three forts were in course of building on ne Richelieu river, or 'rivière des Iroquois,' so alled because for a long period it had been the ost direct highway leading from the villages these bloody warriors to the heart of the olony. During the summer and autumn 1665 the Carignan soldiers were kept busy ith the construction of these necessary efensive works. The first fort was erected the mouth of the river, under the direction Captain de Sorel; the second fifty miles igher, under Captain de Chambly; and the ird about nine miles farther up, under olonel de Salières. The first two retained ne names of the officers in charge of their

construction, and the third received the name of Sainte-Thérèse because it was finished on the day dedicated to that saint. During the following year two other forts were built—St John, a few miles distant from Sainte-Thérèse, and Sainte-Anne, on an island at the head of Lake Champlain. Both Tracy and Courcelle went to inspect the work personally and encourage the garrisons.

In the meantime Talon was in no way idle. He had to organize the means of conveying provisions, ammunition, tools, and supplies of every description for the maintenance of the troops and the furtherance of the work. Under his supervision a flotilla of over fifty boats plied between Quebec and the river Richelieu. It was also his business to take care of the incoming soldiers and labourers and to see that those who had contracted disease during their journey across the ocean received proper nursing and medical attendance.

From the moment of his arrival he had lost no opportunity of acquiring information on the situation in the colony. There is a curious anecdote that illustrates the manner in which he sometimes contrived to gain knowledge by concealing his identity. On the very day of his landing he went alone to

e Hôtel-Dieu, and asking for the superioress, troduced himself as the valet de chambre the intendant, pretending to be sent by his aster to assure the good ladies of the hospital M. Talon's kindly disposition and desire bestow on them every favour in his gift. ne of the sisters present at the interview—ère de la Nativité, a very bright and clever oman—was struck by the extreme distinction manner and speech of the so-called valet, id, with a meaning glance at the superioress, ld the visitor that unless she was mistaken was more than he pretended to be. On s asking what could convey to her that ipression, she replied that by his bearing id language she could not but feel that the tendant himself was honouring the Hôtel-ieu with a visit. Talon could do no less than nfess that she was right, showing at the me time that he appreciated the delicate mpliment thus paid to him. From that day was a devoted and most generous friend to e Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec.

One of the first problems with which the tendant had to deal in discharging the duties his office was the dualism of administrative thority. It has been mentioned that Colbert id founded a new trading company, known

as the West India Company. This corporation had been granted wide privileges over all the French possessions in America, including feudal ownership and authority to administer justice and levy war. The company was thus invested with the right of appointing judicial officers, magistrates, and sovereign councils and of naming, subject to the king's sanction, governors and other functionaries; it had full power to sell the land or make grants in feudal tenure, to receive all seigneurial dues, to build forts, raise troops, and equip war-ships. The company's charter had been granted in 1664 and of course Canada, as well as the other French colonies in the New World, was included in its jurisdiction. The situation of this colony was therefore very peculiar. In 1663 the king had cancelled the charter of the One Hundred Associates and had taken back the fief of Canada; but a year later he had granted it again to a new company. At the same time he showed clearly that he intended to keep the administration in his own hands. Thus Canada seemed to have two masters. In accordance with its charter, the company held the ownership and government of the country *de jure*. But in point of fact the king wielded the government, thus taking back with one

hand what he had given with the other. By right the company controlled the administration of justice; it could, and actually did, establish courts. But, in fact, the king appointed the intendant supreme judge in civil cases, and made the Sovereign Council a tribunal of superior jurisdiction. By right, to the company belonged the power of granting land and seigneuries. In fact, the governor or the intendant, the king's officers, made the grants at their pleasure. This strange situation, which lasted ten years—until the West India Company's charter was revoked in 1674—is often confusing to the student of the period.

Talon saw at a glance the anomaly of the situation; but, being a practical man, he was less displeased with the falsity of the principle than apprehensive of the evil that was likely to result. In a letter to Colbert, dated October 4, 1665, he discussed the subject at length, putting it in plain terms. If, when the grant was made, it was the king's intention to benefit only the company—to increase its profits and develop its trade—with no ulterior consideration for the development of the colony, then it would be well to leave to the company the sole ownership of the country. But if His Majesty

had thought of making Canada one of th
prosperous parts of his kingdom, it was ver
doubtful whether he could attain that en
without keeping in his own hands the contro
of lands and trade. The real aim of the Wes
India Company, as he had learned, was t
enforce its commercial monopoly to the utmos
and become the only trading medium betwee
the colony and the mother country. Such
policy could have but one result; it would pu
an end to private enterprise and discourag
immigration.

In spite of the company's apparent overlord
ship, Talon thought that, as the king's agent
he was bound to exercise the powers appertain
ing to his office for the good of the colony
By the end of the year 1665 he had planned
new settlement in the vicinity of Quebec o
lands included in the limits of the seigneur
of Notre-Dame-des-Anges at Charlesbourg
which he had withdrawn from the grant t
the Jesuits, under the king's authority. Thi
was the occasion of some friction betwee
the Jesuits and the intendant. Talon gav
the necessary orders for the erection of abou
forty dwellings which should be ready to receiv
new settlers during the following year. Thes
were to be grouped in three adjacent village

named Bourg-Royal, Bourg-la-Reine, and Bourg-Talon. We shall learn more of them in a following chapter.

Another enterprise of the intendant was numbering the people. Under his personal supervision, during the winter of 1666-67, a general census of the colony was taken—the first Canadian census of which we have any record. The count showed, as we have already said, a total population of 3215 in Canada at that time—2034 males and 1181 females. The married people numbered 1019, and there were 528 families. Elderly people were but few in number, 95 only being from fifty-one to sixty years old, 43 from sixty-one to seventy, 10 from seventy-one to eighty, and 4 from eighty-one to ninety. In regard to professions and occupations, there were then in New France 3 notaries, 5 surgeons, 18 merchants, 4 bailiffs, 3 schoolmasters, 36 carpenters, 27 joiners, 30 tailors, 8 coopers, 5 bakers, 9 millers, 3 locksmiths. The census did not include the king's troops, which formed a body of 1200 men. The clergy consisted of the bishop, 18 priests and aspirants to the priesthood, and 35 Jesuit fathers. There were also 19 Ursulines, 23 Hospitalières, and 4 Sisters of the Congregation. The original record of

this, the first Canadian census, has been pr
served and is without question a most importa
historical document. It is likewise full
living interest, for in it are recorded the nam
of many families whose descendants are no
to be found all over Canada.

CHAPTER III

THE IROQUOIS SUBDUED

It was the special task of Tracy and Courcelle to rid the colony of the Iroquois scourge. The Five Nations [1] had heard with some disquietude of the body of trained soldiers sent by the French king to check their incursions and crush their confederacy. At the beginning of December 1665, the Marquis de Tracy received an embassy from the Onondagas. They desired to enter into a peace negotiation, and one of the most noted chiefs, Garakonthié, delivered on that occasion a long and eloquent address to the viceroy. A treaty was signed by them on behalf of their own and two of the other tribes, the Senecas and the Oneidas. But meanwhile the Oneidas did not cease from hostilities, and the Mohawks also continued their bloody raids against the French settle

[1] The Iroquois league consisted of five tribes or nations—the Mohawks, the Cayugas, the Senecas, the Onondagas, and the Oneidas.

ments. Courcelle therefore decided to march at once against their villages beyond Lake Champlain, in what is now New York state, and to teach them a lesson. But he did not know the nature of a winter expedition in this northern climate. Leaving Quebec on January 9, he reached Three Rivers on the 16th, and proceeded to Fort Saint-Louis on the Richelieu, where he had fixed the rendezvous of the troops. The cold was very severe, and many soldiers were frozen at the outset. On January 29 the little band, five or six hundred French and Canadians, left Fort Saint-Louis, unfortunately without waiting for a party of Algonquins who should have acted as scouts. It was a distressing march. The soldiers had to walk through deep snow, and the unfamiliar use of snowshoes was a great trial to the Europeans. At night, no shelter! They had to sleep in the open air, under the canopy of the sky and the cold light of the glimmering stars. Having no guides, Courcelle and his men lost their way in that unknown country. After seventeen days of extreme toil they found that, instead of reaching the Mohawk district, they were near Corlaer in the New Netherlands, sixty miles distant. The vanguard had a brush with two hundred Iroquois, who slipped

away after killing six French soldiers and leaving four of their own number dead. The governor could go no farther with his exhausted troops and was forced to retrace his steps. The retreat was worse than the forward march. The supply of provisions failed, and to the suffering from cold was soon added hunger. Many soldiers died of exposure and starvation. In reading the account of the ill-fated expedition, one is reminded of the disastrous retreat of Napoleon's army in 1812 through the icy solitudes of Russia. By this sad experience the military commanders of New France found that they had something to learn of the art of making war in North America, and must respect the peculiarities of the climate and country. Nevertheless Courcelle's winter expedition had made an impression on the minds of the Iroquois and had even surprised the Dutch and the English. The author of a narrative entitled *Relation of the March of the Governor of Canada into New York* wrote: 'Surely so bold and hardy an attempt hath not happened in any age.'

Apparently the Five Nations were somewhat uneasy, for in March the Senecas sent ambassadors to the Marquis de Tracy to ratify the treaty signed in December. In July

delegates came from the Oneida tribe; the presented a letter written by the Englis authorities at Orange which assured the vicero that the Mohawks were well disposed an wished for peace. A new treaty of ratificatio was accordingly signed. But the lieutenant general wanted something more complete an decisive. He demanded of the delegates general treaty to include the whole of the Fiv Nations, and stated that he would allow fort days for all the Iroquois tribes to send the ambassadors to Quebec. Moreover, he in structed Father Beschefer to go to Orange wit some of the Oneida delegates for the purpos of meeting the ambassadors and escortin them to Quebec. Unfortunately, a few day after the priest's departure, news came tha four Frenchmen on a hunting expedition ha been killed near Fort Sainte-Anne by a part of Mohawks, and that three others had bee taken prisoners. One of the slain was a cousi of Tracy, and one of the captives his nephev Father Beschefer was at once recalled an Captain de Sorel was ordered to march wit some two hundred Frenchmen and nine Indians to strike a blow at the raiders. Sor lost no time and had nearly reached the enemy villages when he met Tracy's nephew and th

ther prisoners under escort of an Iroquois hief and three warriors, who were bound for Quebec to make amends for the treacherous murder recently perpetrated and to sue for eace. Under these circumstances Captain e Sorel did not think it necessary to proceed arther, and marched his men home again with he Iroquois and the rescued prisoners. On August 31 a great meeting was held at Quebec n the Jesuits' garden. The delegates of the Five Nations were present, and speeches were nade enlarging on the desirability of peace. But it soon became apparent that no peace ould be lasting except after a successful xpedition against the Mohawks. Tracy, Courcelle, and Talon held a consultation, nd the intendant submitted a well-prepared locument in which he reviewed the reasons or and against a continuance of the war. In Talon's mind the arguments in favour of it nad undoubtedly the greater weight. Tracy nd Courcelle concurred in this opinion. Thirteen hundred men were drafted for an xpedition—six hundred regular soldiers, six nundred Canadians, and a hundred Indians. All was soon ready, and on September 14, the lay of the Exaltation of the Cross, Tracy and Courcelle left Quebec, at the head of their

troops. It was a spectacle that did not fail to impress the Iroquois chiefs detained in Quebec. One of them, deeply moved, said to the viceroy: 'I see that we are lost, but you will pay dearly for your victory; my nation will be exterminated, but I tell you that many of your young men will not return, for our young warriors will fight desperately. I beg of you to save my wife and children.' Many who witnessed that martial exit of Tracy and Courcelle from the Château Saint-Louis, surrounded by a staff of noble officers, must have realized that this was a memorable day in the history of New France. At last a crushing blow was to be struck at the ferocious foe who for twenty-five years had been the curse and terror of the wretched colony. What mighty cheers were shouted on that day by the eager and enthusiastic spectators who lined the streets of Quebec!

On September 28, the troops taking part in the expedition were assembled at Fort Sainte-Anne.[1] Charles Le Moyne commanded the Montreal contingent, one hundred and ten strong; the Quebec contingent marched under Le Gardeur de Repentigny. Father Albanel and Father Raffeix, Jesuit priests, the Abbé

[1] On Isle La Mothe at the northern end of Lake Champlain.

ollier de Casson, a Sulpician, and the Abbé ubois, chaplain of the Carignan regiment, ccompanied the army. Three hundred light oats had been launched for the crossing of akes Champlain and Saint-Sacrement. Cour- elle, always impetuous, was the first to leave he fort; he led a vanguard of four hundred en which included those from Montreal. he main body of the army under Tracy set ut on October 3. Captains Chambly and erthier were to follow four days later with the ear-guard.

The journey by water was uneventful; but he portage between the two lakes was hard nd trying. Yet it was nothing compared ith the difficulties of the march beyond Lake aint-Sacrement. One hundred miles of forest, ountains, rivers, and swamps lay between the oops and the Iroquois villages. No roads xisted, only narrow footpaths interrupted by uagmires, bristling with stumps, obstructed y the entanglement of fallen trees, or abruptly ut by the foaming waters of swollen streams. eavily laden, with arms, provisions, and mmunition strapped on their backs, French nd Canadians slowly proceeded through the reat woods, whose autumnal glories were anishing fast under the influence of the chill

winds of October. Slipping over moist logs sinking into unsuspected swamps, climbing painfully over steep rocks, they went forward with undaunted determination. At night they had to sleep in the open on a bed of damp leaves. The crossing of rivers was sometimes dangerous. Tracy, who unfortunately had been seized with an attack of gout, was nearly drowned in one rapid stream. A Swiss soldier had undertaken to carry him across on his shoulders, but his strength failed, and if a rock had not stood near, the viceroy's career might have ended there. A Huron came to the rescue and carried the helpless viceroy to the other side. The sufferings of the army were increased by a scarcity of food. The troops were famishing. Luckily they came upon some chestnut-trees and stayed their hunger with the nuts.

At last, on October 15, the scouts reported that the Mohawk settlements were near at hand. It was late in the day, darkness was setting in, and a storm of wind and rain was raging. But Tracy decided to push on. They marched all night, and in the morning, emerging from the woods, saw before them the first of the Mohawk towns or villages. Without allowing a moment's pause, the

iceroy ordered an advance. The roll of the rums seemed to give the troops new strength nd ardour; French, Canadians, and Indians ran rward to the assault. The Mohawks, apprised the coming attack, had determined beforeand to make a stand and had sent their omen and children to another village. But, the sight of the advancing army, whose umbers appeared to them three times as reat as they really were, and at the sound of ne drums, like the voice of demons, they ed panic-stricken. The first village was ken without striking a blow. The viceroy mmediately ordered a march against the econd, which was also found abandoned. vidently the Iroquois were terrified, for a hird village was taken in the same way, ithout a show of defence. It was thought hat the invaders' task was finished, when n Algonquin squaw, once a captive of the oquois, informed Courcelle that there were wo other villages. The soldiers pushed forard, and the fourth settlement of the everanishing enemy fell undefended into the ands of the French. The sun was setting; he exertions of the day and of the night before ad been arduous, and it seemed impossible o go farther. But the squaw, seizing a pistol

and grasping Courcelle's hand, said, 'Com on, I will show you the straight path.' An she led the way to the town and fort Andaraque, the most important stronghold the Mohawks. It was surrounded with triple palisade twenty feet high and flanked four bastions. Vessels of bark full of wat were distributed on the platforms behind th palisade ready for use against fire. Th Iroquois might have made a desperate stan there, and such had been their intentio But their courage failed them at the fearf beating of the drums and the appearance that mighty army, and they sought safety flight.

The victory was now complete, and the arm could go to rest after nearly twenty-four hou of continuous exertion. Next morning th French were astonished at the sight Andaraque in the light of the rising su Instead of a collection of miserable wigwam they saw a fine Indian town, with wood houses, some of them a hundred and twen feet long and with lodging for eight or ni families. These houses were well suppli with provisions, tools, and utensils. A immense quantity of Indian corn and oth necessaries was stored in Andaraque—'fo

enough to feed Canada for ten years'—and in the surrounding fields a plentiful crop was ready for harvest. All this was to be destroyed; but first an impressive ceremony had to be performed. The army was drawn up in battle array. A French officer, Jean-Baptiste Dubois, commander of the artillery, advanced, sword in hand, to the front, and in the presence of Tracy and Courcelle, declared that he was directed by M. Jean Talon, king's counsellor and intendant of justice, police, and finance for New France, to take possession of Andaraque, and of all the country of the Mohawks, in the name of the king. A cross was solemnly planted alongside a post bearing the king's coat of arms. Mass was celebrated and the *Te Deum* sung. Then the work of destruction began. The palisades, the dwellings, the bastions, the stores of grain and provisions, except what was needed by the invaders, the standing crops—all were set on fire; and when night fell the glaring illumination of that tremendous blaze told the savages that at last New France had asserted her power, and that the soldiers of the great king had come far enough through forest and over mountain and stream to chastise in their own country the bloodthirsty tribes who for a

quarter of a century had been the terror of the growing settlements on the St Lawrence.

On their return march the troops suffered great hardships. A storm on Lake Champlain upset two boats and eight men were drowned. Tracy reached Quebec on November 5. The expedition had lasted seven weeks, during which time he had covered nine hundred miles. The news of his success had been received with joy. Since the first days of October the whole colony had been praying for victory. As soon as the destruction of the Iroquois towns was known, prayers were changed to thanksgiving. The *Te Deum* was solemnly chanted, and on November 14 a mass was said in the church of Notre-Dame-de-Québec, followed by a procession *in gratiarum actionem*. New France might well rejoice. A great result had been attained. True it was that the Mohawks, panic-stricken, had not been met and crushed in a set encounter. None the less they had had their lesson. They had learned that distance and natural impediments were no protection against the French. Their towns were a heap of ashes, their fields were despoiled, their country was ruined. The fruit of that expedition was to be eighteen years of peace for New France. Eighteen years of peace

after twenty-five years of murderous incursions! Was not that worth a *Te Deum*?

After his return Tracy ordered one of the Iroquois detained at Quebec to be hanged as a penalty for his share in the murder of the French hunters. He then directed three other prisoners, the Flemish Bâtard [1] and two Oneida chiefs, to go and inform their respective tribes that he would give them four months to send hostages and make peace; otherwise he would lead against them another expedition more calamitous for their country than the first one. At length, in the month of July of the following year, ambassadors of the Iroquois nations arrived at Quebec with a number of Iroquois families who were to remain as hostages in the colony. The chiefs asked that missionaries be sent to reside among their tribes. This petition was granted. New France could now breathe freely. The hatchet was buried.

[1] A half-breed Mohawk leader.

CHAPTER IV

A COLONIAL COLBERT

TRACY had led a successful expedition against the Iroquois and coerced them into a lasting peace. He had seen order and harmony restored in the government of the colony. His mission was over and he left Canada on August 28, 1667, Courcelle remaining as governor and Talon as intendant. From that moment the latter, though second in rank, became really the first official of New France, if we consider his work in its relation to the future welfare of the colony.

We have already seen something of his views for the administration of New France. He would have it emancipated from the jurisdiction of the West India Company; he tried also to impress on the king and his minister the advisability of augmenting the population in order to develop the resources of the colony—in a word, he sought to lay the foundations of a flourishing state. Undoubtedly Colbert

ished to help and strengthen New France, but e seemed to think that Talon's aim was too mbitious. In one of his letters the intendant ad gone the length of submitting a plan for he acquisition of New Netherlands, which ad been conquered by the English in 1664. e suggested that, in the negotiations for peace etween France, England, and Holland, Louis IV might stipulate for the restoration to Holland of its colony, and in the meantime ome to an understanding with the States-eneral for its cession to France. Annexation Canada would follow. But Colbert thought hat Talon was too bold. The intendant had poken of New France as likely to become a reat kingdom. In answer, the minister said hat the king saw many obstacles to the fulfil-ment of these expectations. To create on the hores of the St Lawrence an important state ould require much emigration from France, nd it would not be wise to draw so many people om the kingdom—to 'unpeople France for he purpose of peopling Canada.' Moreover, too many colonists came to Canada in one eason, the area already under cultivation ould not produce enough to feed the increased opulation, and great hardship would follow. vidently Colbert did not here display his usual

insight. Talon never had in mind the unpeopling of France. He meant simply that if the home government would undertake to send out a few hundred settlers every year, the result would be the creation of a strong and prosperous nation on the shores of the St Lawrence. The addition of five hundred immigrants annually during the whole period of Louis XIV's reign would have given Canada in 1700 a population of five hundred thousand. It was thought that the mother country could not spare so many; and yet the cost in men to France of a single battle, the bloody victory of Senef in 1674, was eight thousand French soldiers. The wars of Louis XIV killed ten times more men than the systematic colonization of Canada would have taken from the mother country. The second objection raised by Colbert was no better founded than the first. Talon did not ask for the immigration of more colonists than the country could feed. But he rightly thought that with peace assured the colony could produce food enough for a very numerous population, and that increase in production would speedily follow increase in numbers.

It must not be supposed that Colbert was indifferent to the development of New France.

No other minister of the French king did more for Canada. It was under his administration that the strength which enabled the colony so long to survive its subsequent trials was acquired. But Colbert was entangled in the intricacies of European politics. Obliged to co-operate in ventures which in his heart he condemned, and which disturbed him in his work of financial and administrative reform, he yielded sometimes to the fear of weakening the trunk of the old tree by encouraging the growth of the young shoots.

Talon had to give in. But he did so in such a way as to gain his point in part. He wrote that he would speak no more of the great establishment he had thought possible, since the minister was of opinion that France had no excess of population which could be used for the peopling of Canada. At the same time he insisted on the necessity of helping the colony, and assured Colbert that, could he himself see Canada, he would be disposed to do his utmost for it, knowing that a new country cannot make its own way without being helped effectively at the outset. Talon's tact and firmness of purpose had their reward, for the next year Colbert gave ample proof that he understood Canada's situation and requirements.

On the question of the West India Company also there was some divergence of view between the minister and the intendant. As we have seen in a preceding chapter, Talon had expressed his apprehension of the evils likely to spring from the wide privileges exercised by the company. But this trading association was Colbert's creation. He had contended that the failure of the One Hundred Associates was due to inherent weakness. The new one was stronger and could do better. Perhaps difficulties might arise in the beginning on account of the inexperience and greed of some of the company's agents, but with time the situation would improve. It was not surprising that Colbert should defend the company he had organized. Nevertheless, on that point as on the other, Colbert contrived to meet Talon half-way. The Indian trade, he said, would be opened to the colonists, and for one year the company would grant freedom of trade generally to all the people of New France.

In connection with the rights of this company another question, affecting the finances, was soon to arise. By its charter the company was entitled to collect the revenues of the colony; that is to say, the taxes levied on the sale of beaver and moose skins. The tax on

aver skins was twenty-five per cent, called *droit du quart*; the tax on moose skins as two sous per pound, *le droit du dixième*. here was also the revenue obtained from the le or farming out of the trading privileges at adoussac, *la traite de Tadoussac*. All these rmed what was called *le fonds du pays*, the ublic fund, out of which were paid the emoluents of the governor and the public officers, e costs of the garrisons at Quebec, Montreal, nd Three Rivers, the grants to religious comunities, and other permanent yearly disbursements. The company had the right to collect e taxes, but was obliged to pay the public harges.

Writing to Colbert, Talon said he would have een greatly pleased if, in addition to these ghts, the king had retained the fiscal powers of e crown. He declared that the taxes were proictive, yet the company's agent seemed very eluctant to pay the public charges. Colbert, course, decided that the company, in accordnce with its charter, was entitled to enjoy e fiscal rights upon condition of defraying nnually the ordinary public expenditure of e country, as the company which preceded had done. Immediately another point was aised. What should be the amount of the

public expenditure, or rather, to what figur should the company be allowed to reduce it Talon maintained that the public charge defrayed by the former company amounte to 48,950 livres.[1] The company's agent con- tended that they amounted only to 29,200 livres and that the sum of 48,950 livres wa exorbitant, as it exceeded by 4000 livres the highest sum ever received from farming out the revenue.[2] To this the intendant replied by submitting evidence that the rights were farmed out for 50,000 livres in 1660 and in 1663; moreover, the rights were more valuable now, for with the conclusion of peace trade would prosper. In the end Colbert decided that the sum payable by the company should be 36,000 livres annually. The ordinary revenue of New France was thus fixed, and remained at that sum for many years.

It must not be supposed that this revenue was sufficient to meet all the expenses con- nected with the defence and development of

[1] The livre was equivalent to the later franc, about twenty cents of modern Canadian currency.

[2] It was the custom in New France to sell or farm out the revenues. Instead of collecting direct the fur taxes and the proceeds of the Tadoussac trade, the government granted the rights to a corporation or a private individual in return for a fixed sum annually.

ne colony. There was an extraordinary fund rovided by the king's treasury and devoted o the movement and maintenance of the roops, the payment of certain special emolu- ients, the transport of new settlers, horses, nd sheep, the construction of forts, the pur- hase and shipment of supplies. In 1665 this xtraordinary budget amounted to 358,000 livres.

Talon's energetic action on the question of he revenue was inspired by his knowledge of he public needs. He knew that many things equiring money had to be done. A new ountry like Canada could not be opened up or settlement without expense, and he thought hat the traders who reaped the benefit of heir monopoly should pay their due share of he outlay.

We have already seen that Talon had begun he establishment of three villages in the icinity of Quebec. Let us briefly enumerate he principles which guided him in erecting hese settlements. First of all, in deference to he king's instructions relative to concentration, e contrived to plant the new villages as near s possible to the capital, and evolved a plan which would group the settlers about a central oint and thus provide for their mutual help nd defence. In pursuance of this plan he

made all his Charlesbourg land grants triangu
lar, narrow at the head, wide at the base,
that the houses erected at the head were ne
each other and formed a square in the cent
of the settlement. In this arrangement the
was originality and good sense. After mo
than two centuries, Talon's idea remai
stamped on the soil; and the plans of t
Charlesbourg villages as surveyed in our ov
days show distinctly the form of settleme
adopted by the intendant.

Proper dwellings were made ready to recei
the new-comers. Then Talon proceeded wi
the establishment of settlers. To his great j
some soldiers applied for grants. He ma
a point of having skilled workmen, son
if possible, in each village—carpenters, sho
makers, masons, or other artisans, who
services would be useful to all. He tried al
to induce habitants of earlier date to jo
the new settlements, where their experien
would be a guide and their methods an objec
lesson to beginners.

The grants were made on very genero
terms. The soldiers and habitants, on taki
possession of their land, received a substant
supply of food and the tools necessary for th
work. They were to be paid for clearing a

tilling the first two acres. In return each was bound by his deed to clear and prepare for cultivation during the three or four following years another two acres, which could afterwards be allotted to an incoming settler. Talon proposed also that they should be bound to military service. For each new-comer the king assumed the total expense of clearing two acres, erecting a house, preparing and sowing the ground, and providing flour until a crop was reaped—all on condition that the occupant should clear and cultivate two additional acres within three or four years, presumably for allotment to the next new-comer.

Such were the broad lines of Talon's colonization policy. But to his mind it was not enough that he should make regulations and issue orders; he would set up a model farm himself and thus be an example in his own person. He bought land in the neighbourhood of the St Charles river and had the ground cleared at his own expense. He erected thereon a large house, a barn, and other buildings; and, in course of time, his fine property, comprising cultivated fields, meadows, and gardens, and well stocked with domestic animals, became a source of pride to him.

Under Talon's wise direction and encouragement, the settlement of the country progressed rapidly. Now that they could work in safety, the colonists set themselves to the task of clearing new farms. In his Relation of 1668 Father Le Mercier wrote: 'It is fine to see new settlements on each side of the St Lawrence for a distance of eighty leagues. . . . The fear of aggression no longer prevents our farmers from encroaching on the forest and harvesting all kinds of grain, which the soil here grows as well as in France.' In the district of Montreal there was great activity. It was during this period that the lands of Longue-Pointe, of Pointe-aux-Trembles, and of Lachine were first cultivated. At the same time, along the river Richelieu, in the vicinity of Forts Chambly and Sorel, officers and soldiers of the Carignan-Salières regiment were beginning to settle. 'These worthy gentlemen,' wrote Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, 'are at work, with the king's permission, establishing new French colonies. They live on their farm produce, for they have oxen, cows, and poultry.' A census taken in 1668 gave very satisfactory figures. A year before there had been 11,448 acres under cultivation. That year there were 15,649, and wheat production amounted to

130,978 bushels. Such results were encouraging. What a change in three years!

One of the commodities most needed in the colony was hemp, for making coarse cloth. Talon accordingly caused several acres to be sown with hemp. The seed was gathered and distributed among a number of farmers, on the understanding that they would bring back an equal quantity of seed next year. Then he took a very energetic step. He seized all the thread in the shops and gave notice that nobody could procure thread except in exchange for hemp. In a word, he created a monopoly of thread to promote the production of hemp; and the policy was successful. In many other ways the intendant's activity and zeal for the public good manifested themselves. He favoured the development of the St Lawrence fisheries and encouraged some of the colonists to devote their labour to them. Cod-fishing was attempted with good results. Shipbuilding was another industry of his introduction. In 1666, always desirous of setting an example, he built a small craft of one hundred and twenty tons. Later, he had the gratification of informing Colbert that a Canadian merchant was building a vessel for the purpose of fishing in the lower St

Lawrence. During the following year six or seven ships were built at Quebec. The Relation of 1667 states that Talon 'took pains to find wood fit for shipbuilding, which has been begun by the construction of a barge found very useful and of a big ship ready to float.'

In building and causing ships to be built the intendant had in view the extension of the colony's trade. One of his schemes was to establish regular commercial intercourse between Canada, the West Indies, and France. The ships of La Rochelle, Dieppe, and Havre, after unloading at Quebec, would carry Canadian products to the French West Indies, where they would load cargoes of sugar for France. The intendant, always ready to show the way, entered into partnership with a merchant and shipped to the West Indies salmon, eels, salt and dried cod, peas, staves, fish-oil, planks, and small masts much needed in the islands. The establishment of commercial relations between Canada and the West Indies was an event of no small moment. During the following years this trade proved important. In 1670 three ships built at Quebec were sent to the islands with cargoes of fish, oil, peas, planks, barley, and flour. In

672 two ships made the same voyage; and in 681 Talon's successor, the intendant Duchesneau, wrote to the minister that every year ince his arrival two vessels at least (in one ear four) had left Quebec for the West Indies ith Canadian products.

The intendant was a busy man. The scope f his activity included the discovery and evelopment of mines. There had been reorts of finding lead at Gaspé, and the West ndia Company had made an unsuccessful earch there. At Baie Saint-Paul below uebec iron ore was discovered, and it was hought that copper and silver also would be ound at the same place. In 1667 Father llouez returned from the upper Ottawa, ringing fragments of copper which he had etached from stones on the shores of Lake uron. Engineers sent by the intendant reorted favourably of the coal-mines in Cape reton; the specimens tested were deemed o be of very good quality. In this connection nay be mentioned a mysterious allusion in alon's correspondence to the existence of oal where none is now to be found. In 1667 e wrote to Colbert that a coal-mine had been iscovered at the foot of the Quebec rock. 'This coal,' he said, 'is good enough for the

forge. If the test is satisfactory, I shall see that our vessels take loads of it to serve as ballast. It would be a great help in our naval construction; we could then do without the English coal.' Next year the intendant wrote again: 'The coal-mine opened at Quebec, which originated in the cellar of a lower-town resident and is continued through the cape under the Château Saint-Louis, could not be worked, I fear, without imperilling the stability of the château. However, I shall try to follow another direction; for, notwithstanding the excellent mine at Cape Breton, it would be a capital thing for the ships landing at Quebec to find coal here.' Is there actually a coal-mine at Quebec hidden in the depth of the rock which bears now on its summit Dufferin Terrace and the Château Frontenac? We have before us Talon's official report. He asserts positively that coal was found there—coal which was tested, which burned well in the forge. What has become of the mine, and where is that coal? Nobody at the present day has ever heard of a coal-mine at Quebec, and the story seems incredible. But Talon's letter is explicit. No satisfactory explanation has yet been suggested, and we confess inability to offer one here.

While reviewing the great intendant's activities, we must not fail to mention the brewing industry in which he took the lead. In 1668 he erected a brewery near the river St Charles, on the spot at the foot of the hill where stood in later years the intendant's palace. He meant in this way to help the grain-growers by taking part of their surplus product, and also to do something to check the increasing importation of spirits which caused so much trouble and disorder. However questionable the efficacy of beer in promoting temperance, Talon's object is worthy of applause. Three years later the intendant wrote that his brewery was capable of turning out two thousand hogsheads of beer for exportation to the West Indies and two thousand more for home consumption. To do this it would require over twelve thousand bushels of grain annually, and would be a great support to the farmers. In the meantime he had planted hops on his farm and was raising good crops.

Talon's buoyant reports and his incessant entreaties for a strong and active colonial policy could not fail to enlist the sympathy of two such statesmen as Louis XIV and Colbert. This is perhaps the only period in earlier

Canadian history during which the home government steadily followed a wise and energetic policy of developing and strengthening the colony. We have seen that Colbert hesitated at first to encourage emigration, but he had yielded somewhat before Talon's urgent representations, and from 1665 to 1671 there was an uninterrupted influx of Canadian settlers. It is recorded in a document written by Talon himself that in 1665 the West India Company brought to Canada for the king's account 429 men and 100 young women, and 184 men and 92 women in 1667. During these seven years there were in all 1828 state-aided immigrants to Canada. The young women were carefully selected, and it was the king's wish that they should marry promptly, in order that the greatest possible number of new families should be founded. As a matter of fact, the event was in accordance with the king's wish. In 1665 Mother Marie de l'Incarnation wrote that the hundred girls arrived that year were nearly all provided with husbands. In 1667 she wrote again: 'This year ninety-two girls came from France and they are already married to soldiers and labourers.' In 1670 one hundred and fifty girls arrived, and Talon wrote on November 10

'All the girls who came this year are married, except fifteen whom I have placed in well-known families to await the time when the soldiers who sought them for their wives are established and able to maintain them.' It was indeed a matrimonial period, and it is not surprising that marriage was the order of the day. Every incentive to that end was brought to bear. The intendant gave fifty livres in household supplies and some provisions to each young woman who contracted marriage. According to the king's decree, each youth who married at or before the age of twenty was entitled to a gift of twenty livres, called 'the king's gift.' The same decree imposed a penalty upon all fathers who had not married their sons at twenty and their daughters at sixteen. In the same spirit, it enacted also that all Canadians having ten children living should be entitled to a pension of three hundred livres annually; four hundred livres was the reward for twelve. 'Marry early' was the royal mandate. Colbert, writing to Talon in 1668, says: 'I pray you to commend it to the consideration of the whole people, that their prosperity, their subsistence, and all that is dear to them, depend on a general resolution, never to be departed from,

to marry youths at eighteen or nineteen years and girls at fourteen or fifteen; since abundance can never come to them except through the abundance of men.' And this was not enough; Colbert went on: 'Those who may seem to have absolutely renounced marriage should be made to bear additional burdens, and be excluded from all honours; it would be well even to add some mark of infamy.' The unfortunate bachelor seems to have been treated somewhat as a public malefactor. Talon issued an order forbidding unmarried *volontaires* to hunt with the Indians or go into the woods, if they did not marry fifteen days after the arrival of the ships from France. And a case is recorded of one François Lenoir, of Montreal, who was brought before the judge because, being unmarried, he had gone to trade with the Indians. He pleaded guilty, and pledged himself to marry next year after the arrival of the ships, or failing that, to give one hundred and fifty livres to the church of Montreal and a like sum to the hospital. He kept his money and married within the term.

The matrimonial zeal of Colbert and Talon did not slight the noblemen and officers. Captain de la Mothe, marrying and taking up his abode in the country, received sixteen

hundred livres. During the years 1665-68 six thousand livres were expended to aid the marriage of young gentlewomen without means, and six thousand to enable four captains, three lieutenants, five ensigns, and a few minor officers to settle and marry in the colony.

A word must be said as to the character of the young women. Some writers have cast unfair aspersions upon the girls sent out from France to marry in Canada. After a serious study of the question, we are in a position to state that these girls were most carefully selected. Some of them were orphans reared in charitable institutions under the king's protection; they were called *les filles du roi*. The rest belonged to honest families, and their parents, overburdened with children, were willing to send them to a new country where they would be well provided for. In 1670 Colbert wrote to the archbishop of Rouen: 'As in the parishes about Rouen fifty or sixty girls might be found who would be very glad to go to Canada to be married, I beg you to employ your credit and authority with the curés of thirty or forty of these parishes, to try to find in each of them one or two girls disposed to go voluntarily for the sake of settlement in life.' Such was the quality of the

female emigration to Canada. The girls were drawn from reputable institutions, or from good peasant families, under the auspices of the curés. During their journey to Canada they were under the care and direction of persons highly respected for their virtues and piety, such as Madame Bourdon, widow of the late attorney-general of New France, or Mademoiselle Etienne, who was appointed governess of the girls leaving for Canada by the directors of the general hospital of Paris. When young women arrived in Canada, they were either immediately married or placed for a time in good families.

The paternal policy of the minister and the intendant was favoured by the disbanding of the Carignan companies. In 1668 the regiment was recalled to France; four companies only were left in Canada to garrison the forts. The officers and soldiers of the companies withdrawn were entreated to remain as settlers, and about four hundred decided to make their home in Canada. They were generously subsidized. Each soldier electing to settle in the colony received one hundred livres, or fifty livres with provisions for one year, at his choice. Each sergeant received one hundred and fifty livres, or one hundred livres with

one year's provisions. The officers also were given liberal endowments. Among them were: Captains de Contrecœur, de Saint-Ours, de Sorel, Dugué de Boisbriant, Lieutenants Gaultier de Varennes and Margane de la Valtrie; Ensigns Paul Dupuis, Bécard de Grandville, Pierre Monet de Moras, François Jarret de Verchères.

The strenuous efforts of Colbert and Talon could not but give a great impulse to population. The increase was noticeable. In November 1671 Talon wrote:

> His Majesty will see by the extracts of the registers of baptisms that the number of children this year is six or seven hundred; and in the coming years we may hope for a substantial increase. There is some reason to believe that, without any further female immigration, the country will see more than one hundred marriages next year. I consider it unnecessary to send girls next year; the better to give the habitants a chance to marry their own girls to soldiers desirous of settling. Neither will it be necessary to send young ladies, as we received last year fifteen, instead of the four who were needed for wives of officers and notables.

In a former chapter the population of Canada in 1665 was given as 3215 souls, and the number of families 533. In 1668 the number of families was 1139 and the population 6282. In three years the population had nearly doubled and the number of families had more than doubled.

Other statistics may fittingly be given here. During the period under consideration, the West India Company sent to Canada for the king's account many horses and sheep. These were badly needed in the colony. Since its first settlement there had been seen in New France only a single horse, one which had been presented by the Company of One Hundred Associates to M. de Montmagny, the governor who succeeded Champlain. But from 1665 to 1668 forty-one mares and stallions and eighty sheep were brought from France. Domestic animals continued to be introduced until 1672. Fourteen horses and fifty sheep were sent in 1669, thirteen horses in 1670, the same number of horses and a few asses in 1671. So that during these seven years Canada received from France about eighty horses. Twenty years afterwards, in 1692, there were four hundred horses in the colony. In 1698 there were six hundred and eighty-four; and

in 1709 the number had so increased that the intendant Raudot issued an ordinance to restrain the multiplication of these animals.

From what has been said it will be seen that this period of Canadian history was one of great progress. What Colbert was to France Talon was to New France. While the great minister, in the full light of European publicity, was gaining fame as a financial reformer and the reviver of trade and industry, the sagacious and painstaking intendant in his remote corner of the globe was laying the foundations of an economic and political system, and opening to the young country the road of commercial, industrial, and maritime progress. Talon was a colonial Colbert. What the latter did in a wide sphere and with ample means, the former was trying to do on a small scale and with limited resources. Both have deserved a place of honour in Canadian annals.

CHAPTER V

THE INTENDANT AND THE SOVEREIGN COUNCIL

In the preceding chapter a sketch has been given of Talon's endeavours to promote colonization, agriculture, shipbuilding, and commerce, to increase the population, and to foster generally the prosperity of New France. Let us now see how he provided for the good administration and internal order of the colony.

In 1666 he had prepared and submitted to Tracy and Courcelle a series of rules and enactments relating to various important matters, one of which was the administration of justice. Talon wished to simplify the procedure; to make justice speedy, accessible to all, and inexpensive. In each parish he proposed to establish judges having the power to hear and decide in the first instance all civil cases involving not more than ten livres. In addition, there would be four judges at Quebec and appeals might be taken before three o

them from all decisions given by the local judges—'unless,' Talon added, 'it be thought more advisable to maintain the Sieur Chartier in his charge of lieutenant-general, to which he has been appointed by the West India Company.' It was decided that M. Chartier (de Lotbinière) should be so maintained, and he was duly confirmed as *lieutenant civil et criminel* on January 10, 1667. He had jurisdiction in the first instance over all cases civil and criminal in the Quebec district and in appeal from the judgments of the local or seigneurial judges. The Sovereign Council acted as a court of appeal in the last resort, except in cases where the parties made a supreme appeal to the King's Council of State in France. In 1669 Talon wrote a memorandum in which we find these words: 'Justice is administered in the first instance by judges in the seigneuries; then by a lieutenant civil and criminal appointed by the company in each of the jurisdictions of Quebec and Three Rivers; and above all by the Sovereign Council, which in the last instance decides all cases where an appeal lies.' At Montreal there was a lieutenant civil and criminal appointed by the Sulpicians, seigneurs of the island. In 1667 there were seigneurial judges in the

seigneuries of Beaupré, Beauport, Notre-Dame-des-Anges, Cap-de-la-Magdeleine.

It is interesting to find that Talon attempted to establish a method of settlement out of court the principle of which was accepted by the legislature of the province of Quebec more than two centuries later. What was called the *amiable composition* of the French intendant may be regarded as a first edition of the law passed at Quebec in 1899, which provides for conciliation or arbitration proceedings before a lawsuit is begun.[1] Talon also introduced an equitable system of land registration.

In the proceedings of the Sovereign Council of which Talon at this time was the inspiring mind, we may see reflected the condition and internal life of the colony. Decrees for the regulation of trade were frequent. Commercial freedom was unknown. Under the administration of the governor Avaugour (1661-63) a tariff of prices had been published, which the merchants were compelled to observe. Again in 1664 the council had decided that the merchants might charge fifty-five per cent above cost price on dry goods, one hundred per cent on the more expensive wines and spirits, and one hundred and twenty per cent on

[1] 62 Vict. cap. 54, p. 271.

he cheaper, the cost price in France being etermined by the invoice-bills. In 1666 a new ariff was enacted by the council, in which the rice of one hogshead of Bordeaux wine was xed at eighty livres, and that of Brazil tobacco t forty sous a pound. In 1667 again changes ook place: on dry goods the merchants were llowed seventy per cent above cost; on spirits nd wines, one hundred or one hundred and venty per cent as in 1664. The merchants id not accept these rulings without protest. n 1664 the most important Quebec trader, harles Aubert de la Chesnaye, was prosecuted or contravention, and made this bold declaration in favour of commercial freedom: 'I ave always deemed that I had a right to the ee disposal of my own, especially when I onsider that I spend in the colony what I arn therein.' Prosecutions for violating the w were frequent. During the month of une 1667, at a sitting of the Sovereign Coun-l, Tracy, Courcelle, Talon, and Laval being resent, the attorney-general Bourdon made ut a case against Jacques de la Mothe, a erchant, for having sold wines and tobacco higher prices than those of the tariff. The efendant acknowledged that he had sold his ine at one hundred livres and his tobacco at

sixty sous, but alleged that his wine was t
best Bordeaux, that his hogsheads had
capacity of fully one hundred and twenty po
that care, risk, and leakage should be tak
into consideration, that two hogsheads h
been spoiled, and that the price of those r
maining should be higher to compensate h
for their loss. As to the tobacco, it was of t
Maragnan quality, and he had always deem
it impossible to sell it for less than sixty so
After hearing the case, the council decid
that two of its members, Messieurs Damou
and de la Tesserie, should make an inspecti
at La Mothe's store, in order to taste his wi
and tobacco and gauge his hogsheads. Aw
they went; and afterwards they made th
report. Finally La Mothe was condemned
a fine of twenty-two livres, payable to t
Hôtel-Dieu. It may be remarked here th
very often the fines had a similar destinatio
in that way justice helped charity.

The magistrates were vigilant, but t
merchants were cunning and often succeed
in evading the tariff. In July 1667,
habitants' syndic appeared before the cour
to complain of the various devices resor
to by merchants to extort higher prices fr
the settlers than were allowed by law.

the council made a ruling that all merchandise should be stamped, in the presence of the syndic, according to the prices of each kind and quality, and ordered samples duly stamped in this way to be delivered to commissioners specially appointed for the purpose. It will be seen that these regulations were minute and severe. Trade was thus submitted to stern restrictions which would seem strange and unbearable in these days of freedom. What an outcry there would be if parliament should attempt now to dictate to our merchants the selling price of their merchandise! But in the seventeenth century such a thing was common enough. It was a time of extreme official interference in private affairs and transactions.

We have mentioned the syndic of the inhabitants — *syndic des habitants*. A word about this officer will be in place here. He was the spokesman of the community when complaints had to be made or petitions presented to the governor or the Sovereign Council. At that time in Canada there was no municipal government. True, an unlucky experiment had been made in 1663, under the governor Mézy, when a mayor and two aldermen were elected at Quebec. But their

enjoyment of office was of brief duration; in a few weeks the election was declared void. It was then determined to nominate a syndic to represent the inhabitants, and on August 3 Claude Charron, a merchant, was elected to the office; but, as the habitants often had difficulties to settle with members of the commercial class, objection was taken to him on the ground that he was a tradesman, and he retired. On September 17 a new election took place, and Jean Le Mire, a carpenter, was elected. Later on, during the troubles of the Mézy régime, the office seems to have been practically abolished; but when the government was reorganized, it was thought advisable to revive it. The council decreed another election, and on March 20, 1667, Jean Le Mire was again chosen as syndic. Le Mire continued to hold the office for many years.

To the colony of that day the Sovereign Council was, broadly speaking, what the legislatures, the executives, the courts of justice, and the various commissions—all combined—are to modern Canada. But, as we have seen, it had arbitrary powers that these modern bodies are not permitted to exercise. Its long arm reached into every concern of the inhabitants. In 1667, for example, the habitants asked for

a regulation to fix the millers' fee—the amount of the toll to which they would be entitled for grinding the grain. The owners of the flour-mills represented that the construction, repair, and maintenance of their mills were two or three times more costly in Canada than in France, and that they should have a proportionate fee; still, they would be willing to accept the bare remuneration usually allowed in the kingdom. The toll was fixed at one-fourteenth of the grain. Highways were also under the care of the council. When the residents of a locality presented a petition for opening a road, the council named two of its members to make an inspection and report. On receipt of the report, an order would be issued for opening a road along certain lines and of a specified width (it was often eighteen feet), and for pulling stumps and filling up hollows. There was an official called the *grand-voyer*, or general overseer of roads. The office had been established in 1657, when René Robineau de Bécancourt was appointed *grand-voyer* by the Company of One Hundred Associates. But in the wretched state of the colony at that time M. de Bécancourt had not much work to do. In later years, however, the usefulness of a *grand-voyer* had become more apparent,

and Bécancourt asked for a confirmation of his appointment. On the suggestion of Talon, the council reinstated him and ordered that his commission be registered. During the whole French régime there were but five general overseers of roads or *grands-voyers*: René Robineau de Bécancourt (1657-99); Pierre Robineau de Bécancourt (1699-1729); E. Lanoullier de Boisclerc (1731-51); M. de la Gorgendière (1751-59); M. de Lino (1759-60).

Guardianship of public morality and the maintenance of public order were the chief cares of the council. It was ever intent on the suppression of vice. On August 20, 1667, in the presence of Tracy, Courcelle, Talon, and Laval, the attorney-general submitted information of scandalous conduct on the part of some women and girls, and represented that a severe punishment would be a wholesome warning to all evil-doers; he also suggested that the wife of Sebastien Langelier, being one of the most disorderly, should be singled out for an exemplary penalty. A councillor was immediately appointed to investigate the case. What was done in this particular instance is not recorded, but there is evidence to show that licentious conduct was often severely dealt with. Crimes and misdemeanours were ruth-

essly pursued. For a theft committed at night in the Hôtel-Dieu garden, the intendant condemned a man to be marked with the fleur-de-lis, to be exposed for four hours in the pillory, and to serve three years in the galleys. Another culprit convicted of larceny was sentenced to be publicly whipped and to serve three years in the galleys. Both these prisoners escaped and returned to their former practices. They were recaptured and sentenced, the first to be hanged, the second to be whipped, marked with the fleur-de-lis, and kept in irons until further order. Rape in the colony was unhappily frequent. A man convicted of this crime was condemned to death and executed two days later. Another was whipped till the blood flowed and condemned to serve nine years in the galleys.

Let us now turn to activities of another order. One of the most important ordinances enacted by the Sovereign Council under Talon's direction was that which concerned the importation of spirits and the establishment in the colony of the brewing industry. It was stated in this decree that the great quantity of brandies and wines imported from France was a cause of debauchery. Many were diverted from productive work, their health

was ruined, they were induced to squander their money, and prevented from buying necessaries and supplies useful for the development of the colony. Talon, as we have read in another chapter, thought that one of the best means of combating the immoderate use of spirits was the setting up of breweries; at the same time he intended that this industry should help agriculture. The Sovereign Council entered into these views and enacted that as soon as breweries should be in operation in Canada all importation of wines and spirits should be prohibited, except by special permission and subject to a tax of five hundred livres, payable one-third to the seigneurs of the country, one-third to the Hôtel-Dieu, and one-third to the person who had set up the first brewery after the date of the enactment. Under no circumstances should the yearly importation exceed eight hundred hogsheads of wine and four hundred of brandy. When this amount had been reached, no further licences to import would be issued. The council begged Talon to take the necessary steps for the construction and equipment of one or more breweries. The owners of these were to have during ten years, the exclusive privilege of brewing for trading purposes. The price of

beer was fixed beforehand at twenty livres per hogshead and six sous per pot so long as barley was priced at three livres per bushel or less; if the price of barley went higher, the price of beer should be raised proportionately.

In 1667 the Sovereign Council—inspired by Talon—had to discuss a very important question. This was the formation of a company of Canadians to secure the exclusive privilege of trading. By its charter, the West India Company had been granted the commercial monopoly. Under pressure from Talon it had somewhat abated its pretensions and had allowed freedom of trade for a time. But again it was urging its rights. The council asked the intendant to support with his influence at court the plan for a Canadian company, which he did. Colbert did not say no; neither did he seem in a hurry to grant the request. In 1668 the council sent the minister a letter praying for freedom of trade. This year the company had enforced its monopoly and the people had suffered from the lack of necessaries, which could not be found in the company's stores; moreover, prices were exceedingly high. Such a state of things was detrimental to the colony. The council begged

that, if Colbert were not disposed to grant freedom of trade, he would favourably consider the scheme for a trading company composed of Canadians, which had been submitted to him the year before. We shall see, later on, what came of this agitation against the West India Company.

The good understanding between the intendant and the Sovereign Council was absolute. The council had shown unequivocal confidence in Talon's ability and respect for his person and authority. A few days before the Marquis de Tracy had left the colony the council had ordered that all petitions to enter lawsuits should be presented to the intendant, who should assign them to the council or to the lieutenant civil and criminal, or try them himself, at his discretion. This was treating Talon as the supreme magistrate and acknowledging him as the dispenser of justice. M. de Courcelle, who was beginning to feel some uneasiness at Talon's great authority and prestige, refused to sign the proceedings of that day, inscribing these lines in the council's register: 'This decree being against the governor's authority and the public good, I did not wish to sign it.' At the beginning of the following year Talon, whose attention perhaps had not been called

o Courcelle's written protest, requested the doption of a similar decree; and the council id not hesitate to confirm its previous decision, otwithstanding the governor's former opposiion, which he reiterated in the same terms. ourcelle was certainly mistaken in supposing hat the council's decision was an encroachent on his authority. The superior jurisiction in judicial matters belonged to the ntendant. Under his commission he had the ight to 'judge alone and with full jurisdiction civil matters,' to 'hear all cases of crimes nd misdemeanours, abuse and malversation, y whomsoever committed,' to 'proceed gainst all persons guilty of any crime, whatver might be their quality or condition, to ursue the proceedings until final completion, udgment and execution thereof.' Nevertheess, in practice and with due regard to the good dministration of justice, the council's decree vent perhaps too far. The question remained n abeyance and was not settled until four years fterwards, at the end of Talon's second term n Canada. He had written to Colbert on he subject stating that he would be glad to be ischarged of the judicial responsibility, and to ee the question of initiating lawsuits referred o the Sovereign Council.

As a matter of fact [he said], receiving the petitions for entering lawsuits does not mean retaining them before myself. I have not judged twenty cases, civil or criminal, since I came here, having always tried as much as I could to conciliate the opposing parties. The reason why I speak now of this matter is that very often, for twenty or thirty livres of principal, a plaintiff goes before the judge of first instance—which diverts the parties from the proper cultivation of their farms—and later on, by way of an appeal, before the Sovereign Council which likes to hear and judge cases.

Colbert did not deem the decision of the council advisable.

It is contrary [he wrote] to the order of justice, in virtue of which, leaving in their own sphere the superior judges, the judges of first instance are empowered to hear all cases within their jurisdiction, and their judgments can be appealed from to the Sovereign Council. Moreover it would be a burden for the king's subjects living far from Quebec to go there unnecessarily in order to ascertain before what tribunal they should be heard.

We must now speak of a most important matter—the brandy traffic. The sale of intoxicating liquor to the Indians had always been prohibited in the colony. In 1657 a decree of the King's State Council had ratified and renewed this prohibition under pain of corporal punishment. Yet, notwithstanding the decree, greedy traders broke the law and, for the purpose of getting furs at a low price, supplied the Indians with *eau-de-feu*, or fire-water, which made them like wild beasts. The most frightful disorders were prevalent, the most heinous crimes committed, and scandalous demoralization followed. In 1660 the evil was so great that Mgr de Laval, exercising his pastoral functions, decreed excommunication against all those pursuing the brandy traffic in defiance of ordinances. This might have stopped the progress of the evil had not the governor Avaugour opened the door to renewed disorder two years later by a most unfortunate policy. Thereupon Laval crossed the ocean to France, obtained the governor's recall, and succeeded, though with some difficulty, in maintaining the former prohibition. In 1663 the Sovereign Council enacted an ordinance strictly forbidding the selling or giving of brandy to Indians directly

or indirectly, for any reason or pretence what
soever. The penalty for the offence was
fine of three hundred livres, payable one-thir
to the informers, one-third to the Hôtel-Dieu
and one-third to the public treasury. And fo
a second offence the punishment was whippin
or banishment. In 1667, after the Sovereig
Council had been finally reorganized, the pro
hibition was renewed, on a motion of attorney
general Bourdon, under the same penalties a
before, and it devolved many times upon th
council to condemn transgressors of th
ordinance to fines, imprisonment, or corpora
punishment. Talon was present and con
curred in these condemnations. But graduall
his mind changed. He was becoming dail
more impressed with the material benefits
the brandy traffic and less convinced of i
moral danger. He was besides displeased wit
the bishop's excommunication. In his vie
it was an encroachment of the spiritual upo
the civil power. Under the influence of thes
feelings he came to consider prohibition of th
liquor traffic as a mistake, damaging to th
trade and progress of the colony and to Frenc
influence over the Indian tribes. These we
the arguments put forward by the supporte
of the traffic. According to them, to refu

brandy to the Indians was to let the English monopolize the profitable fur trade, and therefore to check the development of New France. The fur trade provided an abundance of beaver skins, which formed a most convenient medium of exchange. The possession of these gave an impetus to trade, and brought to Canada a number of merchants and others who were consumers of natural products and money spenders. Moreover, in Canada furs were the main article of exportation. Their abundance swelled the public revenue and increased the number of ships employed in the Canadian trade. And last, to use an argument of a higher order, the brandy traffic, in fostering trade with the Indian tribes, kept them in the bonds of an alliance and strengthened the political situation of France in North America.

The above fairly, we think, represents the substance of the plea made by the supporters of the liquor traffic. Such indeed were the arguments used by the traders, finally accepted by Talon, developed in after years by Frontenac, approved by Colbert on many occasions; such was the political and commercial wisdom of those who thought mainly of the material progress of New France. To those arguments Laval, the clergy, and many enlightened persons in-

terested in the public welfare had a double answer. First, there was at stake a question of principle important enough to be the sole ground of a decision. Was it right, for the sake of a material benefit, to outrage natural and Christian morality? Was it morally lawful, for the purpose of loading with furs the Quebec stores and the Rochelle ships, to instil into the Indian veins the accursed poison which inflamed them to theft, rape, incest, murder, suicide—all the frightful frenzy of bestial passion. As it was practised, the liquor traffic could have no other result. A powerful consensus of evidence established this truth above all discussion. For the Indians brandy was then, as it is now, a murderous poison. It is for this reason that at the present day the government of Canada prohibits absolutely the sale of intoxicating liquor in the territories where the wretched remnants of the aborigines are gathered. The strictness of the modern laws is a striking vindication of Laval and those who stood by him.

Moreover the prohibition of the brandy traffic was not as detrimental to the material development of the colony as was contended. It was possible to trade with the Outaouais, the Algonquins, the Iroquois, without the allure-

ment of brandy. The Indians themselves acknowledged that strong liquor ruined them. The Abbé Dollier de Casson, superior of the Montreal Sulpicians, was perfectly right when he made the following statement:

> We should have had all the Iroquois, if they had not seen that there is as much disorder here as in their country, and that we are even worse than the heretics. The Indian drunkard does not resist the drinking craze when brandy is at hand. But afterwards, when he sees himself naked and disarmed, his nose gnawed, his body maimed and bruised, he becomes mad with rage against those who caused him to fall into such a state.

ome years later the governor Denonville nswered those who enlarged on the danger f throwing the Indians on the friendship of he Dutch and English if they were refused randy. 'Those who maintain,' he said, that if we refuse liquor to the Indians they ill go to the English, are not trustworthy, for he Indians are not anxious to drink when they o not see the liquor; and the most sensible f them wish that brandy had never existed, ecause they ruin themselves in giving away

their furs and even their clothes for drink. Denonville's opinion was the more justified in that at one time the New England authorities proposed to the French a joint prohibition of the sale of brandy to Indians, and actually passed an ordinance to that effect.

There were many other articles besides brandy that were needed by the Indians, and for which they were obliged to exchange their furs. But even had the prohibition caused a decrease in the fur trade, would the evil have been so great? Fewer colonists would have been diverted from agriculture. As it was the exodus from the settlements of bushrangers in search of furs was a source of weakness and the flower of Canadian youth disappeared every year in the wilderness. Had this drain on national vitality been avoided, the settlement of Canada would have been more rapid. Even from the material point of view it can be maintained that the opponents of the brandy traffic understood better than its supporters the true interests of New France.

For a long while this important question divided and agitated the Canadian people. The religious authorities, knowing the evils and crimes that resulted from the sale of intoxicating liquor to the Indians, made

strenuous efforts to secure the most severe restriction if not the prohibition of the deadly traffic. They spoke in the name of public morality and national honour, of humanity and divine love. The civil authorities, more interested in the financial and political advantages than in the question of principle, favoured toleration and even authorization of the trade. Hence the conflicts and misunderstandings which have enlivened, or rather saddened, the pages of Canadian history.

It is to be regretted that the intendant Talon sided with the supporters of free traffic in brandy. We have said that at first he wavered. The rulings of the Sovereign Council in 1667 seem to show it. But his earnest desire for the prosperity of the colony—the development of her trade, the increase of her population, the improvement of her finances—his ambition for the economic progress of New France, misled him and perverted his judgment. This is the only excuse that can be offered for the greatest error of his life. For he must be held responsible for the ordinance passed by the Sovereign Council on November 10, 1668. This ordinance, after setting forth that in order to protect the Indians against the curse of drunkenness it was better to have recourse

to freedom than to leave them a prey to the wily devices of unscrupulous men, enacted that thereafter, with the king's permission, all the residents of New France might sell and deliver intoxicating liquor to the Indians willing to trade with them. The gate was opened. It was in vain that the ordinance went on to forbid the Indians to get drunk under a penalty of two beavers and exposure in the pillory. A fearful punishment indeed!

Talon's good faith was undeniable. On this occasion he doubtless thought that he was still serving the cause of public welfare. But, without questioning his intentions, we cannot but admit that his life's record contains pages more admirable than this one.

CHAPTER VI

TALON AND THE CLERGY

In the instructions which Talon had received from Louis XIV on his departure from France in 1665 it was stated that Mgr de Laval and the Jesuits exercised too strong an authority and that the superiority of the civil power should be cautiously asserted. The intendant was quite ready to follow these directions. He had been reared in the principles of the old parliamentarian school and was thoroughly imbued with Gallican ideas. But at the same time he was a sincere believer and faithful in the performance of his religious duties. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should be found ever earnest in his endeavours to promote the extension of Christianity and ready to protect the missionaries, as well as the charitable and educational institutions, in their work. Neither is it surprising that he should sometimes seem jealous of ecclesiastical

influence in matters where Church and State were both concerned.

The following incident will show to what lengths he was prepared to go when he thought that there was an encroachment of the spiritual on the civil power. The winter of 1667 was very gay at Quebec. Peace had been secured, confidence in the future of the colony was restored, and there manifested itself a general disposition to indulge in social festivities. Indeed the first ball ever given in Canada took place in February of this year at M. Chartier de Lotbinière's house, as is recorded in the *Journal des Jésuites*. Now there was at this time in Quebec a religious association for women called the Association of the Holy Family. Laval himself had framed their rules, one of which directed the members to abstain from frivolous entertainments and to lead a pious and edifying life amidst the distractions and dissipations of the world. Seeing that many members of the association had departed from the rules by taking part in these pleasures, Laval threatened to suspend their meetings. Naturally a strong impression was made on the public mind. Talon resented what he deemed an undue interference. He laid a complaint against the bishop's action before

the Sovereign Council and asked that two of their number be directed to report on the social entertainments held during the last carnival, in order to show that nothing improper had taken place. When the report was made, it declared that nothing deserving of condemnation had occurred in these festivities, and that there was no occasion to censure them. Evidently, if there was encroachment upon this occasion, it was encroachment of the civil on the spiritual power. The special rules of a pious association in no way affected the safety of the state or public order. If a number of ladies wished to join its ranks and accept its discipline in order to follow the path of Christian perfection and lead a more exemplary life in the world, they should be free to do so, and their directors should be free to remonstrate with them if they were not faithful to their pledge. In this incident the intendant was not at his best. He seems to have sought an occasion of checking the bishop's authority, and the occasion was not well chosen. It is likely that M. de Tracy, still in the colony at the time, intervened in the interests of peace, for the entry in regard to Talon's complaint was erased from the register of the Sovereign Council.

In a state paper by Talon for Colbert's information, in 1669, the intendant's Gallican views reveal themselves fully. He complains of the excessive zeal of the bishop and clergy which led them to interfere in matters of police thus trespassing upon the province of the civil magistrate. He went on to say that too strict a moral discipline of confessors and spiritual directors put a constraint on consciences, and that, in order to counterbalance the excessive claims to obedience of the clergy then in charge, other priests should be sent to Canada with full powers for administration of the sacraments. It is more than probable that in writing these lines Talon was thinking of the vexed question of the liquor traffic, always a source of strife between the civil and the spiritual authorities.

Talon and his colleagues, Tracy and Courcelle, had to deal with the question of tithes. In 1663 tithes had been fixed by royal edict at one-thirteenth of all that is produced from the soil either naturally or by man's labour. This edict was prompted by the erection of the Quebec Seminary by Laval, and established in Canada the tithes system for the benefit of the new clerical institution, to which was entrusted the spiritual care of the colonists.

The latter, who previously had paid nothing for the maintenance of the clergy, protested against the charge, notwithstanding that it was in conformity with the common practice of Christian nations. Laval, taking into consideration the poverty of the colony at the time, freely granted delays and exemptions, so that in 1667 the question was still practically in abeyance. In that year the bishop presented to Tracy a petition for the publication of a decree in respect to the tithes. The lieutenant-general, the governor, and the intendant gave the matter their attention, and after discussion an ordinance was passed for payment of tithes, consisting of the twenty-sixth part of all that the soil grows, naturally or by man's labour, for the benefit of the priests who ministered to the spiritual wants of the people. There was a proviso stating that the words 'by man's labour' did not include manufactures or fisheries, but only the products of the soil when cultivated and fertilized by human industry. The assessment of one-twenty-sixth was to be levied for a term of twenty years only, after which the tithes were to be fixed according to the needs of the time and the state of the country. Later on, in 1679, a royal edict made perpetual the rate of one-

twenty-sixth. For years the practice prevailed of levying tithes only on grain. But in 1705 two parish priests maintained that they should be levied also on hemp, flax, tobacco, pumpkins, hay—on all that is grown on cultivated land. A heated discussion in the Sovereign Council took place, led by the attorney-general Auteuil. The two priests contended that the ordinance of Tracy, Courcelle, and Talon did not limit the tithes to grain; it stated that they should be levied on all that the soil grows naturally or by man's labour. Unfortunately they had only a copy of the ordinance of 1667 to file in support of their contention. The attorney-general maintained that the original ordinance of 1663 limited the tithes to grain, and that the constant practice was a confirmation and an evidence of the rule. But, strange to say, he could not put the original ordinance on record. It had been lost. However, the practice was held to decide the case, and the priests' contention was not sustained. From that time the question was settled, definitely and for ever; the tithes were levied only on grain, as they are still levied in the province of Quebec, on all lands owned by Catholics. But it is interesting to know as a matter of

history that the two litigant priests were right. Had the original ordinance been before the council, it would have been found to enact the levying of tithes not on grain alone but on all that the soil grows naturally or by man's labour.' An authentic copy of this ordinance was discovered in our day, nearly two centuries after the lawsuit of 1705, and it bears out the plea of the two priests.

Another feature of Talon's relations with the clergy and religious communities—and a pleasant one this time—was his strong interest in the *francisation* (Frenchification) of the Indians. It was Colbert's wish that efforts be made to bring the Algonquins, Hurons, and other Indians more closely within the fold of European civilization—to make them alter their manners, learn the French tongue, and become less Indian and more European in their way of life. Talon was of the same mind and lost no opportunity of impressing the idea on those who could best do the work. Laval had already been active in the same direction, and had founded the Quebec Seminary partly with this end in view. The great bishop thought that one of the best means of civilizing the Indians would be to bring up Indian and French children together. So he withdrew

from the Jesuits' College a number of pupil whom he had previously placed there an established them, with a few young Indians in a house bought for the purpose. Such wer the beginnings of the Quebec Seminary, opene on October 9, 1663. The first class consiste of eight French and six Indian children. Th seminary trained them in the practice of piet and morality. For ordinary instruction the went to the Jesuits. The Jesuits' College ha been founded in 1635 and was of great servic to the colony. It was pronounced by Lava in 1661 almost equal in educational advantage and standing to the Jesuits' establishments i France ; and according to a trustworthy autho it ' was a reproduction on a small scale of th French colleges : classes in letters and arts literary and theatrical entertainments, wer found there.' Some of the public performance given at the Jesuits' College were memorable such as the reception to the Vicomte d'Argen son when he entered upon the governmen of New France, and the philosophical debat of July 2, 1666, which was graced with th presence of Tracy, Courcelle, and Talon. Tw promising youths, Louis Jolliet and Pierre d Francheville, won universal praise on tha occasion ; and Talon himself, who had bee

ccustomed in France to such scholastic exer-
ises, took part in it very pertinently, to the
reat delight of all present.

To return to the *francisation* of Indians:
he Ursulines were also enlisted in the cause.
ince their arrival in Canada in 1639 it had
een for them a labour of love. In the con-
ent and school founded by Mother Marie de
Incarnation and Madame de la Peltrie, both
rench and Indian girls received instruction in
arious subjects. Seven nuns attended daily
o the classes. The Indian girls had special
lasses and teachers, but they were lodged and
oarded along with the French children.
ome of these Indian pupils of the Ursulines
fterwards married Frenchmen and became
xcellent wives and mothers. Special mention
s made of one of the girls as being able to read
nd write both French and Huron remarkably
ell. From her speech it was hard to believe
hat she was born an Indian. Talon was
o delighted with this instance of successful
rancisation that he asked her to write some-
hing in Huron and French that he might send
t to France. This, however, was but an
xceptional case. Mother Mary declared in
ne of her letters that it was very difficult,
f not impossible, to civilize the Indian girls.

During this period the Ursulines had on an average from twenty to thirty resident pupils. The French girls were supposed to pay one hundred and twenty livres. Indian girls paid nothing. The Ursuline sisters and Mother Mary, their head, did a noble work for Canada; the same must be said of the venerable Mother Marguerite Bourgeoys and the ladies of the Congregation of Notre-Dame, founded in 1659 at Montreal. At first this school was open to both boys and girls. But in 1668 M. Souart, a Sulpician, took the boys under his care, and thenceforth the education of the male portion of the youth of Ville-Marie was in the hands of the priests of Saint-Sulpice. At this time the Sulpicians of Montreal were receiving welcome accessions to their number; the Abbés Trouvé and de Fénélon arrived in 1667, and the Abbés Queylus, d'Allet, de Galinée, and d'Urfé in 1668. In the latter year Fénélon and Trouvé were authorized by Laval to establish a new missionary station for a tribe of Cayugas as far west as the bay of Quinté on the north shore of Lake Ontario. The progress of mission work was now most encouraging. Peace prevailed and the Iroquois country was open to the heralds of the Gospel. Fathers Frémin and Pierron were

living among the Mohawks; Father Bruyas with the Oneidas. In 1668 Father Frémin was sent to the Senecas, Father Milet to the Onondagas, and Father de Carheil to the Cayugas. The bloody Iroquois, who had tortured and slain so many missionaries, were now asking for preachers of the Christian faith, and receiving them with due honour. It is true that the hard task of conversion remained, and that Indian vices and superstitions were not easily overcome. But at least the savages were ready to listen to Christian teaching. Some of them had courage enough to reform their lives. Children and women were baptized. Many received when dying the sacraments of the Church. Moreover, the sublime courage and self-devotion of the missionaries inspired the Indian mind with a profound respect for Christianity and added very greatly to the influence and prestige of the French name among the tribes.

On the whole the situation in Canada at the end of 1668, three years after Talon's arrival, was most satisfactory. Peace and security were restored; hope had replaced despondency; colonization, agriculture, and trade were making progress; population was increasing yearly. In this short space of time

New France had been saved from destruction and was now full of new vigour. Every one in the colony knew that the great intendant had been the soul of the revival, the leader in all this progress. It may therefore be easily imagined what was the state of popular feeling when the news came that Talon was to leave Canada. He had twice asked for his recall. The climate was severe, his health was not good, and family matters called for his presence in France; moreover, he was worried by his difficulties with the governor and the spiritual authorities. Louis XIV gave him leave to return to France and appointed Claude de Bouteroue in his stead.

Talon left Quebec in November 1668. Expressions of deep regret were heard on all sides. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation wrote: 'M. Talon is leaving us and goes back to France. It is a great loss to Canada and a great sorrow for all. For, during his term here as intendant, this country has developed more and progressed more than it had done before from the time of the first settlement by the French.' The annalist of the Hôtel-Dieu was not less sympathetic, but there was hope in her utterance: 'M. Talon,' she said, 'left for France this year. He comforted us in our grief by

leading us to expect his return.' Perhaps these last words show that Talon even then intended to come back to Canada if such should be the wish of the king and his minister.

CHAPTER VII

TALON'S EVENTFUL JOURNEY

TALON returned to France in an auspicious hour. It was perhaps the happiest and brightest period of the reign of Louis XIV. France had emerged victorious from two campaigns, and the king had just signed a treaty which added to his realm a part of the province of Flanders. The kingdom enjoyed peace, and its prosperity had never been so great. Thanks to Colbert, the exchequer was full. In all departments the French government was displaying intelligent activity. Trade and commerce, agriculture and manufactures were encouraged and protected. With ample means at their disposal and perfect freedom of action, Louis XIV and Colbert could not but be in a favourable mood to receive Talon's reports and proposals. Talon acted as if he were still the intendant of New France; and though for the time being he was not, he was surely the most powerful agent or advocate that the colony could have. The king and his

inister readily acquiesced in his schemes for rengthening the Canadian colony. It was ecided to dispatch six companies of soldiers reinforce the four already there, and ultiately, upon being disbanded, to aid in settling ne country. Many hundred labourers and unarried women and a new stock of domestic nimals were also to be sent. Colbert had ever been so much in earnest concerning New rance. He attended personally to details, ave orders for the levy of troops and for the nipping of the men and supplies, and urged n the officials in charge so that everything ould be ready early in the spring. To M. de ourcelle he wrote these welcome tidings :

> His Majesty has appropriated over 200,000 livres to do what he deems necessary for the colony. One hundred and fifty girls are going thither to be married; six companies complete with fifty good men in each and thirty officers or noblemen, who wish to settle there, and more than two hundred other persons are also going. Such an effort shows how greatly interested in Canada His Majesty feels, and to what extent he will appreciate all that may be done to help its progress.

That the minister was not actuated merely by a passing mood, but by a set purpose, may be seen from a passage of a letter to Terron, the intendant at Rochefort: 'I am very glad,' Colbert wrote, 'that you have not gone beyond the funds appropriated for the passage of the men and girls to Canada. You know how important it is to keep within the limits especially in an outlay which will have to be repeated every year.'

In the meantime Talon was pleading the cause of Canada in another direction. Always intent on freeing New France from the commercial monopoly of the West India Company he renewed his assault against that corporation and at last he was successful. This signal victory showed plainly his great influence with the minister. Colbert conveyed the gratifying information to Courcelle:

> His Majesty has granted freedom of trade to Canada, so that the colony may hereafter receive more easily the provisions and supplies needed. It will now be necessary to inform the colonists that they must provide cargoes agreeable to the French, who will supply them with necessities, and so make a profitable ex-

JEAN BAPTISTE COLBERT

From an engraving in the Dominion Archives

change of goods. For there is now a great supply of furs in this kingdom, and if there were no other goods available as a return cargo perhaps the French ships would not go there.

The spring of 1669 was memorable for Canada. Nearly all that Talon asked for New France was granted. But one thing which he did not ask was desired by Louis and Colbert. It is probable that Talon intended to go back to Canada, but he did not expect or wish to return immediately. Yet this was what the king and the minister deemed advisable and even essential. It was very well to send troops, labourers, women, settlers, and supplies; but, in order that all should yield their maximum of efficiency, it was necessary that the business affairs of the colony should again be placed in the hands of the intendant, who had already worked wonders by his sagacity and skilful management. There was no man who knew so well the weak and strong points, the requirements and possibilities of Canada. True, only a few months had elapsed since the king had given him permission to leave Canada, and had appointed in his stead another intendant who, naturally enough, would expect to be in

charge for at least two years. But, on the other hand, the king's service and the public good demanded his reappointment. Talon had to acquiesce. He had reached Paris at the end of December. Three months later he was again intendant of New France, and on April 3 Louis XIV wrote to the intendant Bouteroue at Quebec informing him of Talon's reinstatement. To leave France so soon must have been for Talon a great sacrifice, but it was a high compliment that Louis and Colbert were paying to his talents and administrative abilities. On May 10, 1669, the king signed his new commission, and on the 17th he received his instructions, a document much shorter than the one framed for his direction in 1665. No minute advice was needed this time, for Talon was himself the best authority on all matters relating to Canada.

Talon sailed from La Rochelle on July 15. He was accompanied by Captain François Marie Perrot, one of the six commanders of the companies sent to Canada; by Father Romuald Papillion, Hilarion Guesnin, Césair Herveau, and Brother Cosme Graveran. Perrot was married to the niece of the intendant. The friars belonged to the Franciscan order and to the particular branch of it known under the

name of Récollets. It had been thought good to reintroduce into Canada the religious society whose priests had been the first to preach the Gospel there. The intendant's former voyage from France to Canada had lasted one hundred and seventeen days, so that, allowing for all probable delays, he might expect to reach Quebec by the end of October at the latest. But it was decreed that he was not to see New France this year. His ship was assailed by a series of storms and hurricanes and driven far from her right course. After three months of exertion and suffering the captain was obliged to make for the port of Lisbon. There the ship was revictualled; but, having sailed again, she struck upon a rocky shoal at a distance of three leagues from Lisbon and was totally wrecked. Talon and his companions were fortunately saved, and found themselves back in France at the beginning of the year 1670.

In the meantime what was going on in Canada? Talon's successor, M. de Bouteroue, was upright and intelligent, but without Talon's masterly gifts and activity. He attended principally to the administration of justice. At the judicial sittings of the Sovereign Council he was almost always present; he himself heard

many cases, and often acted as judge-advocate. On his advice the council gave out an ordinance fixing the price of wheat. There had been complaints that sometimes creditors refused to accept wheat in payment, or accepted it only at a price unreasonably low. So it was enacted that for three months after the promulgation of the decree debtors should be at liberty to pay their creditors in wheat of good quality at the price of four livres per bushel.

The evil consequences of the previous action of the council in freeing the brandy traffic were already manifest. The scourge of the coureurs de bois, later to prove so damaging to the colony, was beginning to be felt. A new ordinance now prohibited the practice of going into the woods with liquor to meet the Indians and trade with them. This ordinance also enjoined sobriety upon the Indians and held them responsible for the drunkenness of their squaws, while the French were forbidden to drink with them. Hunting in the forest was only allowed by leave of the commandant of the district or the nearest judge, to whose inspection all luggage and goods for trade must be submitted. Brandy might be taken on these expeditions, but no more than one pot per man for eight days. The penalty for violating any of

these provisions of the law was confiscation, with a fine of fifty livres for a first offence and corporal punishment for a second. Thus, but in vain, did the leaders of New France attempt to stay the progress of Indian debauchery.

During the summer of 1669 a renewal of the war between the French and the Iroquois was threatened. Three French soldiers had killed six Oneidas, after making them drunk for the purpose of stealing their furs; three other soldiers had treacherously murdered a Seneca chief for the same purpose. The Outaouais also, who were in alliance with the French, attacked a party of Iroquois, killing and capturing many. Incensed at these acts of hostility, the Iroquois threatened to unbury the tomahawk. Courcelle at once set himself to the task of averting the danger. He went to Montreal, where many hundred Indians had gathered for the annual fair, to which they always came in great numbers for the purpose of exchanging their furs for goods. He convened a large meeting and made an address of great vigour and cleverness, his speech being accompanied by appropriate gifts. He then proceeded to carry out the sentence of the law upon the murderers of the Seneca chief, who were shot on the spot in the presence of the

assembly. The Iroquois were placated; three men killed for the death of one convinced them that French justice was neither slow nor faltering. In the meantime the Outaouais had brought back three of their prisoners and pledged themselves for the surrender of twelve others. In this way war was averted and peace maintained.

The first ships coming from France that summer brought letters from Colbert to Courcelle and Bouteroue intimating that Talon was returning to resume his charge. Bouteroue was probably surprised to learn that he was to be superseded so soon, and the governor may have been disappointed to hear of the early arrival of a man whose authority and prestige made him somewhat uneasy. But in the colony the rejoicing was general. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation wrote: 'We expect daily M. Talon whom the king sends back to settle everything according to His Majesty's views. He brings with him five hundred men. . . . If God favours his journey and brings him happily to port he will find new means of increasing the country's wealth.' Several weeks elapsed, and Talon's ship did not appear. Some anxiety was felt. Mother Marie wrote again: 'M. Talon has not arrived; in his

ship alone there were five hundred men. We are greatly concerned at the delay. They may have landed again in France, or have been lost in the storms which have proved to be so dreadful.' The autumn of 1669 had been a stormy season. Fearful hurricanes swept over Quebec. The lower town was flooded to an incredible height, many buildings were destroyed, and the havoc amounted to 100,000 livres. All this was painfully disquieting. To quote Mother Marie again: 'If M. Talon has been wrecked, it will be an irretrievable loss to the colony, for, the king having given him a free hand, he could undertake great things without minding the outlay.' In the meantime M. Patoulet, Talon's secretary, who had left France on another ship and had reached Quebec safely, wrote to Colbert: 'If he is dead, His Majesty will have lost a good subject, yourself, Monseigneur, a faithful servant, Canada an affectionate father, and myself a good master.'

Fortunately, as we have already seen, Talon was not lost. At the very time when these letters were written he was on his way back to France, where he spent the winter hard at work with Colbert—preparing for the dispatch of settlers and soldiers in the spring. The

minister displayed the same zeal as the year before. He appropriated ample funds, gave urgent orders, and seemed to make the Canadian reinforcements his personal affair. Talon sailed from La Rochelle about the middle of May 1670. He was accompanied by Perrot again, and also by six Récollets, four fathers and two brothers. After three months at sea he was nearly shipwrecked once more, this time near Tadoussac, almost at the end of his journey. On August 18, after an absence from Canada of one year and nine months, he landed once more at Quebec.

CHAPTER VIII

RENEWED EFFORTS AND PROGRESS

When Talon arrived at Quebec, New France had again just escaped an Indian war. A party of Iroquois hunting near the country of the Outaouais met two men of their nation who had been prisoners of the Outaouais and had succeeded in escaping. These informed their fellow-tribesmen that the Outaouais village was undefended, almost every warrior being absent. The Iroquois then attacked the village, destroyed it, and brought with them as prisoners about one hundred women and children. The Outaouais warriors, when apprised of the raid, started in pursuit, but did not succeed in overtaking the raiders. However, receiving a reinforcement of another party of allied Indians, they invaded the Senecas' territory. These hostilities aroused the temper of the Iroquois, and a general Indian war threatened, into which the French would unavoidably be drawn. At that moment

Garakonthié, the Iroquois chief who had always been friendly to the French, advised the Five Nations to send an embassy to the governor of Canada asking him to compose these differences. The Five Nations agreed, and Iroquois and Outaouais delegates, many hundreds in number, came to Quebec. A great council was held lasting three days, and Courcelle succeeded in bringing about an understanding between the rival tribes. After the meetings Garakonthié asked to be baptized, and Laval himself performed the ceremony.

It was but a few days after these events that Talon arrived, and, notwithstanding the improvement in the situation, he does not seem to have deemed peace perfectly secure, for he wrote to the king that it would be advisable to send two hundred more soldiers. He added that the Iroquois caused great injury to the trade of the colony by hunting the beaver in the territories of the tribes allied with the French, and selling the skins to Dutch and English traders. In another letter Talon set forth that these traders drew from the Iroquois 1,000,000 livres' worth of the best beaver, and he suggested the construction of a small ship of the galley type to cruise on Lake Ontario, and that two posts manned by one hundred

picked soldiers should be established, one on the north, the other on the south shore of that lake. These measures would ensure safe communication between the colony and the Outaouais country, keep the Iroquois aloof, and favour the opening of new roads to the south. It was a broad and bold scheme. But could it be executed over the head of M. de Courcelle? Talon had foreseen this objection and had begged that the governor should be instructed to give support and assistance. But once more the intendant was going beyond his authority. Such an undertaking was clearly within the governor's province. Talon was told that he should lay his scheme before M. de Courcelle, so that the governor might attend to its execution.

This incident sheds light upon the relations that existed between Courcelle and Talon. The former was valiant, energetic, and intelligent; but he felt that he was outshone by the latter's promptness, celerity in design, superior activity, wider and keener penetration, and he could not conceal his displeasure.

After the great councils held at Quebec, the Senecas again assumed a somewhat disquieting attitude. The governor, they said, had been too hard on them. He had threatened

to chastise them in their own country if they did not bring back their prisoners. Perhaps his arm was not long enough to strike so far. Evidently they had forgotten the expedition against the Mohawks five years ago. They were convinced that distance and natural impediments, such as rapids and torrents, protected them from invasion in their remote country south of Lake Ontario. Courcelle resolved to shake their confidence. Early in the spring he went to Montreal and ordered the construction of a flat-boat. In this he set out from Lachine (June 3, 1671) with Perrot, governor of Montreal, Captain de Laubia, Varennes, Le Moyne, La Vallière, Normanville, Abbé Dollier de Casson, and about fifty good men. Thirteen canoes accompanied the flat-boat. After considerable exertion, the governor and his party passed the rapids and continued up the St Lawrence ; nine days later they entered Lake Ontario, to the amazement of a party of Iroquois whom they met there. The governor gave these Indians a message for the Senecas and the other nations, stating that he wished to keep the peace, but that, if necessary, he could come and devastate their country. The demonstration had the desired effect and there was no further talk of war.

It will be inferred from Talon's proposals and schemes already mentioned that his thoughts were now occupied with the external affairs of the colony. This indeed was to be the characteristic feature of his second administration. When in Canada before he had concentrated his attention chiefly upon judicial and political organization, and had directed his efforts to promote colonization, agriculture, industry, and trade—in a word, the internal economy of New France. But now, without neglecting any part of his duty, he seemed desirous of widening his sphere of action by the extension of French influence to the north, south, and west. On October 10, 1670, he wrote to the king: 'Since my arrival, I have sent resolute men to explore farther than has ever been done in Canada, some to the west and north-west, others to the south-west and south. They will all on their return write accounts of their expeditions and frame their reports according to the instructions I have given them. Everywhere they will take possession of the country, erect posts bearing the king's arms, and draw up memoranda of these proceedings to serve as title-deeds.'

Of these explorers one of the most noted was Cavelier de la Salle. He had been born in

1643. After pursuing his studies in a Jesuit college he came to Canada in 1666 and obtained from the Sulpicians a grant of land near Montreal, named by him Saint-Sulpice, but ultimately known under the name of Lachine. In 1669 Courcelle gave him letters patent for an exploring journey towards the Ohio and the Meschacébé, or Mississippi. By way of these rivers he hoped to reach the Vermilion Sea, or Gulf of California, and thus open a new road to China via the Pacific ocean. At the same time the Abbés Dollier and de Galinée, Sulpicians, had prepared for a remote mission to the Outaouais. It was thought advisable to combine the two expeditions. Thus it happened that La Salle and the Sulpicians left Montreal in 1669 and journeyed together as far as the western end of Lake Ontario. There they parted. The Sulpicians wintered on the shores of Lake Erie, and next spring passed the strait between Lakes Erie and Huron, reached the Sault Sainte-Marie, and then returned to Montreal by French river, Lake Nipissing, and the Ottawa river. Their journey lasted from July 4, 1669, to June 18, 1670. In the meantime La Salle had reached the Ohio and had followed it to the falls at Louisville. He also returned in the summer of

1670. The itinerary of his next expedition, undertaken in the same year, is not very well known. According to an account of doubtful authority, he went through Lakes Erie and Huron, entered Lake Michigan, reached the Illinois river, and even the Mississippi. But a careful study of contemporaneous documents and evidence leads to the conclusion that the Mississippi must be omitted from this itinerary. In our opinion La Salle did not reach that river in 1671, as has been asserted; he probably went as far as the Illinois country.

Another of Talon's resolute explorers was Simon François Daumont de Saint-Lusson. Accompanied by Nicolas Perrot, the well-known interpreter, he left Quebec in September 1670, and wintered with an Outaouais tribe near Lake Superior. Perrot sent word to the neighbouring nations that they should meet next spring at Sault Sainte-Marie a delegate of the great French Ononthio.[1] On June 14 representatives of fourteen nations were

[1] This was the name given by the Indians to the king of France; the governor was called by them Ononthio, which means 'great mountain,' because that was the translation of Montmagny—*mons magnus* in Latin—the name of Champlain's first successor. From M. de Montmagny the name had passed to the other governors, and the king had become the 'great Ononthio.'

gathered at the Sault. The Jesuit fathers Dablon, Dreuillettes, Allouez, and André were present. A great council was held on a height Saint-Lusson had a cross erected with a post bearing the king's arms. The *Vexilla Regis* and the *Exaudiat* were sung. The intendant's delegates took possession of the country in the name of their monarch. There was firing of guns and shouts of '*Vive le roi!*' Then Father Allouez and Saint-Lusson made speeches suitable to the occasion and the audience. At night the blaze of an immense bonfire illuminated with its fitful light the dark trees and foaming rapids. The singing of the *Te Deum* crowned that memorable day.

The intendant was pleased with the result of Saint-Lusson's expedition. He wrote to the king: 'There is every reason to believe that from the point reached by this explorer to the Vermilion Sea is a distance of not more than three hundred leagues. The Western Sea [the Pacific ocean] does not seem more distant. According to calculation based on the Indians' reports and on the charts, there should not be more than fifteen hundred leagues of navigation to reach Tartary, China, and Japan.'

Talon showed his high appreciation of Saint-Lusson's services by immediately giving him

another mission—this time to Acadia, for the purpose of finding and reporting as to the best road to that colony. In 1670 Grandfontaine had taken possession of Acadia, which had been restored to France by the treaty of Breda. He had received from Sir Richard Walker the keys of Fort Pentagouet, at the mouth of the Penobscot river, and had sent Joybert de Soulanges to hoist the French flag over Jemsek and Port Royal. It was therefore incumbent on the intendant to see to the opening of a road between Quebec and Pentagouet. His letters and those of Colbert written in 1671 are full of this project. A fund of thirty thousand livres was appropriated for the purpose. The intendant's plan was to erect about twenty houses well provided with stores along the proposed route at intervals of sixty leagues. He also had in mind the establishment of settlements along the rivers Penobscot and Kennebec, to form a barrier between New France and New England. With the object of establishing trade relations between Canada and Acadia, he sent to the French Bay (Bay of Fundy) a barge loaded with clothes and supplies, and was extremely pleased to receive in return a cargo of six thousand pounds of salt meat. In 1671, for Colbert's information, he drew up

a census of Acadia.[1] But, as we shall see, the great intendant was not to remain in Canada long enough to bring his Acadian undertaking to full fruition.

Let us follow him in another direction. He had tried to extend the sphere of French influence towards the west and south, and was doing his best to strengthen Canada on the New England border by promoting the development of Acadia. His next attempt was to bring the northern tribes into the French alliance and to open to the colony the trade of the wide area extending from Lake St John to Lake Mistassini and thence to Hudson Bay. For an expedition to Hudson Bay he chose Father Albanel, a Jesuit, and M. de Saint-Simon. They left Quebec for Tadoussac in August 1671, and ascended the Saguenay to Lake St John where they wintered. In June 1672 they continued their journey, reaching Lake Mistassini on the 18th of the same month and James Bay on the 28th. After formally taking possession of the country in the name of France, they returned by the

[1] The figures were—Port Royal, 359; Poboncoup, 11; Cap Nègre, 3; Pentagouet, 6 and 25 soldiers; Mouskadabouet, 13; Saint-Pierre, 7. Total 399, or, including the soldiers, 424. There were 429 cultivated acres, 866 head of cattle, 407 sheep and 36 goats.

same route to Quebec, where on July 23 they laid their report before the intendant.

One of the last but not the least of the explorations made under Talon's auspices was that which he entrusted to Louis Jolliet, and which resulted in the discovery of the upper Mississippi. Jolliet left Montreal in the autumn of 1672 and wintered at Michilimackinac, where he joined Father Marquette. Next spring they set out together, and by way of Lake Michigan, Green Bay, Fox river, and the Wisconsin they reached the giant river, the mighty Mississippi, which they followed down as far as latitude 33°. Thus was discovered the highway through the interior of the continent to the Gulf of Mexico. One result of the discovery was the birth of Louisiana a few years later.

Talon's patriotic enthusiasm was justified when he wrote to Louis XIV: 'I am no courtier and it is not to please the king or without reason that I say this portion of the French monarchy is going to become something great. What I see now enables me to make such a prediction. The foreign colonies established on the adjoining shores of the ocean are already uneasy at what His Majesty has done here during the last seven years.' This con-

fidence was probably not shared by the king and his minister, for, in a letter to Frontenac some time later, Colbert remonstrated against long journeys to the upper St Lawrence and outlying settlements, and expressed his disapproval of discoveries far away in the interior of the continent where the French could never settle or remain. Undoubtedly it was wise to advise concentration, and Talon himself would not have differed on that score from the minister. He was too sagacious not to see that Canada with a small population should abstain from remote establishments. His policy of exploration and discovery did not aim at the immediate foundation of new colonies, but was only directed towards increasing the prestige of the French name, developing trade, and thus preparing the way for the future greatness of Canada. It was a far-sighted policy, not seeking impossible achievements for to-day, but gaining a foothold for those of to-morrow. That the political fabric of France in America was doomed to fall in no way dims the fame of the great intendant. Under his powerful direction New France, through her missionaries, explorers, and traders, stamped her mark over three-quarters of the territory then known as North

America. Her moral, political, and commercial influence was felt beyond her boundaries—west, north, and south. She had hoisted the cross and the fleurs-de-lis from the sunny banks of the Arkansas to the icy shores of Hudson Bay, and from the surges of the Atlantic to the remotest limits of the Great Lakes. Her unceasing activity and daring enterprise, supplementing inferior numbers and wealth, gave her an undisputed superiority over the industrious English colonies confined to their narrow strip between the Alleghanies and the sea; and her name inspired awe and respect in a hundred Indian tribes.

What was Courcelle's attitude towards the extraordinary activity displayed by Talon? Evidently the intendant often acted the part of the governor; and the real governor, outshone, could not conceal his ill-humour, and tried to assert his authority. There were several clashes between the two high officials. The governor frequently lost his temper, while Talon complained of Courcelle's jealousy and harshness. It must be admitted that the great intendant, in his fervid zeal for the public good and his passion for action, was not always careful or tactful in his behaviour to the governor.

CHAPTER IX

TALON'S ADMINISTRATION ENDS

In the survey of Talon's first term of office mention was made of the many enterprises he set on foot for the internal progress of the colony. One of these was shipbuilding. During his second term a stronger impulse was given to this industry. One of the intendant's first official acts after his arrival in 1670 was to issue a decree for the conservation of the forests suitable for shipbuilding purposes—to prohibit the felling of oak, elm, beech, and cherry trees until the skilled carpenters sent by the king should have inspected them and made their choice. It is interesting, too, to find that in all grants of land Talon inserted a clause reserving these trees. Shipbuilding in Canada was to be encouraged and promoted. Had not Colbert given forty thousand livres for the purpose? A shipyard was set up on the banks of the St Charles river. Many ships were built there; at first only small ones, but

the industry gradually developed. In 1672 a ship of over four hundred tons was launched, and preparations had been made for another of eight hundred tons. Seven years earlier only nineteen out of 2378 vessels in the French mercantile marine had exceeded four hundred tons. The infant shipyard at Quebec was doing well.

Agriculture and industry were flourishing in New France. Hemp was being grown successfully, and a larger quantity of wool was made available by increasing flocks of sheep. The intendant insisted that women and girls should be taught to spin. He distributed looms to encourage the practice of weaving, and after a time the colony had home-made carpets and table-covers of drugget, and serges and buntings. The great number of cattle ensured an abundance of raw hides. Accordingly the intendant established a tannery, and this in turn led to the preparation of leather and the making of shoes; so that in 1671 Talon could write to the king: 'I am now clothed from foot to head with home-made articles.' Tobacco was grown to some extent, but Colbert did not wish to encourage its cultivation by the Canadian farmers. The minister was better pleased when the intendant wrote concerning potash and tar. A Sieur Nicolas Follin under-

took to make potash out of wood ashes, and was granted a privilege with a bounty of ten sous per ton and free entry into France for his product. The potash proved excellent. In the meantime an expert on tar named Arnould Alix came from France and found that the Canadian trees were eminently fit for the production of that article, so necessary in shipbuilding; indeed at this time Colbert was doing his best to manufacture it in France so that the shipyards of the kingdom might use French tar instead of the foreign product. The news that it could be made in Canada was very welcome to the minister.

The intendant continued his search for mines, but without substantial results. There had been much talk of iron ore at Baie Saint-Paul and also in the region of Three Rivers. The Sieur de la Potardière was sent to examine these ores; but, although his report was favourable and Colbert seemed highly interested and began to speak of casting cannon on the shores of the Saint-Maurice, for some reason nothing was done, and sixty years were to elapse before the establishment of the Saint-Maurice forges.

In another chapter we saw that Talon was always ready to help the religious institutions and that he was very friendly towards the

Hôtel-Dieu at Quebec. This hospital had become too small for the requirements of the growing population. At his own expense the intendant had a substantial wing erected, superintending the work himself and at the same time securing for the institution an abundant supply of water. The Ursulines also received ample evidence of his goodwill and friendship. He was greatly pleased with their *Séminaire Sauvage* (Indian seminary), where they displayed an unceasing zeal for the instruction and civilization of the little red-skinned girls. The Jesuit Relation of 1671 mentions the baptism of an Indian girl with her mother. Talon wished to be godfather and asked Madame d'Ailleboust to act as godmother. Laval officiated. In 1671 the Ursulines had fifty Indian girls in their *Séminaire Sauvage*, and in Montreal the Sulpicians and the Sisters of the Congregation, as already narrated, were devoting themselves to the Indian children. In this good work the intendant was greatly interested. He rejoiced in educational progress, as is shown by the following from one of his letters to the king :

> The Canadian youth are improving their knowledge. They take to schools for

> sciences, arts, handicrafts, and especially navigation; and if the movement is sustained there is every reason to hope that this country will produce mariners, fishermen, seamen, and skilled workmen; for the youth here are naturally inclined to these pursuits. The Sieur de Saint-Martin (a lay brother at the Jesuits), who knows enough mathematics, is going to give lessons at my request.

New France at this time was prosperous and happy. 'Peace reigns within as well as without the colony,' wrote Talon at the end of the year 1671. There was work and activity on all sides. New settlements were opened, new families were founded, new industries were born. No wonder that Talon, when he reflected on what had been achieved in seven years, should have written: 'This portion of the French monarchy is going to become something great.'

Unfortunately his activities and service in Canada were nearing their end. His health was breaking down. Louis XIV had promised that he should be relieved from his arduous task in two years. Talon reminded his royal master of this promise, and on May 17, 1672,

the king was pleased to give him permission to come home. Courcelle had asked for his own recall; his request was also granted and the Comte de Frontenac was named in his stead. No intendant was appointed to fill Talon's place. At the beginning of September 1672, while Talon had still two months to serve, Frontenac arrived in Quebec to take up his duties as the sole executive head of the colony.[1]

One of Talon's last official acts was the allotment, under authority of a decree of the King's Council of State, of a large number of seigneuries—a matter of the highest importance for the development of the colony. He set himself to the task with his usual activity and earnestness. From October 10 to November 8 he authorized about sixty seigneurial concessions to officers and others desirous of forming settlements. In one day alone (November 3) he made thirty-one grants. The autumn of 1672, during which all these seigneuries were created, should be remembered in the history of New France. Before Talon, it is true, seigneurial grants had been made in Canada, but only intermittently and without any preconceived plan or well-defined object.

[1] Another volume of this Series, *The Fighting Governor*, tells of what happened in New France in Frontenac's time.

Now it was quite different. The grants made by Talon, and the way in which they were made, show clearly the execution of a well thought-out scheme. If Talon was not the founder he was the organizer of the seigneurial institution in Canada. The object was twofold—to protect and to colonize the country. By his concessions to Sorel, Chambly, Varennes, Saint-Ours, Contrecœur—all officers of the Carignan regiment—he created so many little military colonies whose population would be composed chiefly of disbanded soldiers. These, being warriors as well as farmers, would be a strong barrier against possible Iroquois incursions. His second object, to stimulate colonization in general, was anticipated by a provision—inserted in each grant—that the seigneurs should live on their domains, and that their tenants should do the same; this would mean the planting of many new settlements on both shores of the St Lawrence. It was a sound policy. For over a century the seigneurial system was to Canada a source of strength and progress.[1] Its organization was the crown-

[1] This view is fully sustained by Prof. W. B. Munro of Harvard University, who has made an exhaustive study of the subject. The reader is referred to the narrative of *The Seigneurs of Old Canada* in the present Series, written by him.

ing work of the intendant Talon in New France.

Talon's task was over. He had happily fulfilled his mission. He had set government and justice upon a foundation which was to last until the fall of the old régime. He had given a mighty impulse to agriculture, colonization, trade, industry, naval construction. He had encouraged educational and charitable institutions, created new centres of population, strengthened the frontiers of Canada, and, with admirable forethought, had prepared the way for the future extension and growth of the colony. He has had his critics. The word paternalism has been used to describe the system carried out by him and by Colbert. He has been accused of having too willingly substituted governmental action for individual activity. But, taking into consideration the time and circumstances, such criticism is not justified. When Talon came to Canada, the colony was dying. A policy of ensuring protection, of liberal and continuous subvention, of intelligent state initiative, was a necessity of the hour. Everywhere ground had to be broken, and the government alone could do it. The policy of Colbert and Talon saved the colony.

The great intendant left Canada in November 1672. It was a mournful day for New France. In recognition of his services the king had made a barony of his estate, 'des Islets,' and had created him Baron des Islets. Later on he became Comte d'Orsainville. He had previously been appointed Captain of the Mariemont Castle.

Talon never came back to Canada. Louis XIV and Colbert received him with expressions of the greatest satisfaction. After a time he became *premier valet de la garde-robe du roi* (first valet of the king's wardrobe), and finally he attained the coveted office of secretary of the king's cabinet. He died on November 24, 1694, at the age of about sixty-nine years, twenty-two years after his departure from Canada.

Jean Talon is one of the great names in Canadian history—the name of one of the makers of Canada.

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